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HOW TO BE A GOOD CAMPAIGNER

"The real popular appeal of any politician could be measured by his manner of saying some such meaningless phrase as, 'Most oranges are round.' If he could say, 'Most oranges are round,' with obvious sincerity and a sort of determined earnestness, he is a born winner. If he cannot, he is a losing candidate, however brilliant his qualifications and eloquent his oratory."

This bit of political wisdom is extracted from a column written (we trust with tongue in cheek) by Stewart Alsop, for November 18, 1955.

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Behind the Symbol —

An Idea or a Babble of Sounds?

By I. G. Morrison

Extracts from a stimulating lecture delivered by Prof. Morrison to the students in Communication classes at Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma — where he is Chairman of the Speech Department.

AS FAR AS I AM AWARE, no records have ever been left from the countless ages of the past of what has gone through the minds of the saber toothed tiger, the mammoth, the lion, the bear, or even our own little American skunk. Only the thoughts of *man* have been recorded in such a way that we say that through the ages he has communicated with fellow human beings. We have a record of what *Jonah* may have thought, but we have no idea of the confused emotions of the *whale*.

How different with man! He seems to be the only member of the animal family that can actively toy with abstract concepts, that can take the memories of past experiences, relate them to experiences of the present, and prognosticate what will happen in the future. He has been doing just that for many, many centuries.

Out of Bleak Darkness

Way back in the dawn of history we have records of some of the thoughts and concepts of our early ancestors. The most intelligent, the most progressive, of those early men who crawled out of a cave to hunt a snake for dinner inscribed on the walls of his dismal home some of his concepts of society as he knew it. No doubt as he beat his hairy breast, with one foot clamped down on the prostrate neck of his conquered victim, he must have made the welkin so ring that Tarzan would be counted a baby in comparison. Then, with exultant glee, he crawled back into his cave to inscribe on dark and murky walls the pictures of his prowess—symbols of thought that still communicate concepts for us, even now.

As a man thus emerged from the bleak darkness of prehistoric void into the gray dawn of history he gradually, painfully, intermittently

stumbled into an awareness of himself as an individual. Other individuals arose and forced their attentions upon him—and so a crude form of human society was born. Human beasts pitted against human beasts demanded that some kind of concerted action be instigated against such wanton fratricide.

Grunts, howls, and gesticulation commenced to take on specific meanings. A certain peculiar howl with proper leg and arm movements was followed by a punch in the nose—then that howl and gesture became the symbol of a threat that meant, unless heeded, a sore proboscis. A different kind of a grunt accompanied by a flashing grimace may well have meant, "Come on out, have grub worms and snails with the Mrs. and me today". So early man through rough symbols commenced to communicate thought.

Animals that could not think abstract thoughts, that could not remember experiences of the past and relate them to experiences of the present in order to anticipate the future, have come and gone. But man, ever aware of himself as an individual entity, relating himself to the society of other individuals, continues to reproduce his kind and to flourish.

Much of his success can be attributed directly to his ability to communicate his thoughts, emotions, reactions, and aspirations with his fellow man. As families combined into clans, into tribes, and finally into nations, this art that we call "communication" waxed ever more and more important in man's progress and survival. I must say again that we can only judge the future by relating the present to the past. The cat of 5000 years ago knew as much as the cat of today. But man, through the process of using symbols to record thought, emotions, events, strivings, has

succeeded in the development of a species with unlimited possibilities.

Those symbols must necessarily have been drawn from common experiences. Thus the Roman cross of rough timbers at first was a symbol much more degrading than the hangman's noose. The meaning of that symbol changed with the advent of Christianity. A group of religious followers commenced to glorify the cross. Consequently, down through almost 20 centuries the sign, the symbol, of the cross has meant a deified Christ. The meaning changed. Before the symbol, though, a mutual understanding of its meaning must have been ascertained. It is ever thus that a symbol is formed.

Men quit counting their toes and fingers to indicate simple digits. They adopted symbols that represented that act of counting. They invented certain symbols for ideas that we of today call "words". They learned to tell whole stories by the designs that they made in stained glass windows, by carving the stone of their buildings, by combining color and design on the walls. Those practices have continued to this day.

What I am trying to say is that a sign, a symbol, is meaningless until such time that the would-be benefactor has in some way been conditioned to receive it unto *himself*. Words are symbols of thought. In fact, a word is not even a word to any one of you until it *has* taken on a thought concept. Just because it may be a *word* to *me* is no sign that it is also a word to *you*.

When Is A Horse A Horse?

Let us take another example. You no doubt are familiar with the word "horse" — HORSE. Even when I use the abstract symbol made up of the 5 letters H O R S E, you have conjured up an image in your own mind. Knowing that most of you have come from homes within the boundaries of the United States where the "horse" has functioned so mightily in the building of our empire, I suspect that you immediately thought of a four-legged animal with some kind of a flowing mane. It may have been black or white, large or small, skinny or fat, wild or tame. It may have been a lot of things, but I definitely suspect that it was such a quadruped.

So, you think you *know* what a horse is. It may be that you are presently only acquainted with the abridged edition of the dictionary. But there are others — much more complete. Last night I went up to our library and looked up the defini-

tions of that word, "horse," in one of the volumes of the English dictionary. It may surprise you to know that you can't intelligently read it all in an hour's time. There are 13 columns, long columns, of fine print.

Would you guess that under certain conditions a "horse" is a rope that sailors stand on — out beneath a yard, atop a sailing vessel? If, in your reading, you found a dialogue something like this, "John, you can tighten that hoop better with a horse," would you likely recognize a cooper's tool? Indeed, the same word (symbol) "horse" may mean, under certain specific conditions, a constellation of stars, a geological rock formation, or an instrument of exercise in a gymnasium. It may mean a Saxon ensign on a sailing vessel, or a gallows for hanging men, or a lottery ticket; or it may mean a wooden faucet! Would you be a bit surprised to read an excited command something like this: "Hey Skinny! Turn the snout of that horse the other way!" only to learn that all that was wanted was to turn the faucet around?

The same symbol, you see, may have many meanings. How then do we know what may be meant? How do we know what reaction to expect from the reader or listener?

Much of your entire life will be devoted to the understanding of thought processes and concepts. If you master the lessons of life set before you, it will have been done largely by the recognition of words, symbols, and by manipulating their relationships to other ideas and experiences expressed in some kind of sign language. Much of it will be accomplished by listening to lectures, public and private discussions. Much of it will be attained from reading — reading little black smudges of printers ink on paper and transforming them into meaningful concepts.

It is, then, through reading, writing, listening, and speaking that we attempt to improve upon our abilities to communicate with our fellow men.

The Baby in the Home

The important word in that last sentence was *improve*. When you first came into this world, you could not even take a breath into your lungs. About the first thing the doctor, or the nurse, did to you was to pick you up by the heels and give you a friendly spat — right where it counted. You responded, too! You have been responding to external stimuli ever since.

Slowly, after that, you commenced to learn

how to make your wants known to your family. For many months, your wants were limited and you made them known to others without talking in words. At the same time, you learned to make responses, too. Long before you could say a word, I'll wager everyone of you had already learned in some way to respond to the spoken sound, "No, no!"

For a number of years your wants increased and you learned to talk so that the family, at least, understood you. The whole world lived for *you*. The sun came up so *you* could play. Food was always prepared for *you*. It rained so that *you* could splash around in the mud. In fact if the whole family didn't do what *you* wanted, you were unhappy. But you learned to live with that unhappiness. Gradually you learned that others had wants too. There were ups and downs, but you learned enough symbols of thoughts to get along.

Just about the time when you commenced to think that you really could have your own way, the family decided that you were ready to export. So off you went to school. There, in the first grade, your horizon really commenced to broaden. The wants, desires, wishes — and tantrums — of other children made your acquaintance.

But, possibly more than any other thing, you gradually discovered that the word and sign language that you used with the neighbors and family at home was entirely inadequate for use in your expanded environment. So you were taught new thought-concepts. Quickly you used them to adapt to the new society.

Every year your horizon widened — expanded — deepened. Twelve years you experienced the growth of that ever enlarged field. Spoken symbols, long since, had had to be supplemented by written and printed symbols. What a problem you puzzled through in learning to write script in such symbols that someone else could decipher and understand! And *print!!* My goodness! The teachers threw *whole* books at you — even books without pictures.

More and more symbols, piled on top of other symbols. Along about the 10th year of your education a teacher told you to work out the cube root of " $A^3 + 2A^2B + 2AB^2 + B^3$ " — and you learned that a cube was not, necessarily, a block of wood. But likely you had as much fun with the "root" as you did with the "cube." So, again, your horizon was widened. Abstract thinking became

a part of your life: a very vital part of your life with relationship to other people.

Your family left indelible imprints upon your experiences. The impact of your neighbors left their permanent marks upon your thoughts. The teachers, the preachers, the saints, and the sinners, have all left their trademarks and imprints upon you. Each has widened and deepened your social and intellectual horizon. How wide, how deep, depends upon the many and varied responses that you made to the multitude of symbols they threw at you. If the boogie-woogies got you early enough you may still have little or no appreciation of Bach or Beethoven—who recorded those funny little symbols on paper that *sound* so different from what they *look*.

But at last you waded through high school and into college. In college! That magic institution! Once again your horizons were amplified!

No longer will the high school vocabulary of symbols of thought suffice. Just as a loud mouth and physical exuberance mark a certain period of growth and development, you find that concentrated association of abstract ideas mark the scholar. You have already learned, even by now, that if you are to understand the language of the scholar you need must learn to interpret his symbols. Many, indeed most, of these symbols, thought-signs, are expressed in *words*. So, if you are really going to get a broader vision, if you are going to be able to find your way around in this new environment, if you are really going to learn something of the ever-expanding world about you, you will most certainly learn to handle words, thought-signs.

Listening

That learning is done through five processes: 1) reading, 2) writing, 3) listening, 4) speaking, and 5) thinking. None of the first four processes can take place except in connection with the fifth. If your eyes move along a page of print without the association necessary in a thought process, definitely you are not *reading*. If you sound of verbal symbols with no exacting thought, you may be babbling but, in your expanded environment, it could hardly be called *communicative speaking*.

Let us take the process of listening, for an example. I contract certain muscles and relax certain other muscles of my body and what happens — a sound comes out. All kinds of

sounds come out in profusion, one after another, almost on top of another. Sound wave after sound wave is produced by forcing breath through my vibrating vocal folds in such a pattern that they produce all kinds of wiggles in a microphone. They are electronically recorded by a complex device which indicates the kind of wiggles those sound waves make in the microphone. Then they are played back to you through a similar electronic device that changes electronic impulses back into sound impulses. If you know me, you will likely say that "Morrison is speaking". That, however, is a guess.

It is a guess because you simply do not hear what I am actually saying at all. Nor do you actually hear what any professor says in a lecture. You never really hear what anyone else says for that matter. Whether you hear through the medium of one of those electronically operated machines or through the medium of flesh and blood, all that happens to you individually is that your tympanic membranes (ear drums) vibrate back and forth like nobody's business. In and out, in and out they go! Through a series of little levers in your middle ear, that maybe you have learned to call the hammer, anvil, and stirrup, those sound-wave movements are amplified in such a way as to activate certain nerve endings. That much happens to every one of you, but what happens after that no one but you will ever know.

At that point the problem of *listening* comes into play. I will not here go into the anatomical problem of what happens to nerves, muscles, and glands. But from the time that those nerve-endings in your ears have been stimulated by sound waves, you have a difficult task cut out for yourself. You, and only you, will have to *interpret* what those sound waves *mean*.

The same sound waves mean different things to different people. They necessarily take on meaning to each of you relative to what you associate them with. For instance, that last sentence ended with a preposition. If you have been studying grammar recently, I would venture a guess as to what thought-concepts you may have associated with those sound waves that wiggled your eardrums.

If you have nothing inside your cranium with

which to associate such stimuli, nothing happens. You just let the sound waves keep on pounding, while you continue your dreams or determine to think about something else. The listener must work, energetically, if he is to respond to sound waves in such a manner as to produce for himself a thought-concept. He finds that he must unceasingly compare and contrast those stimuli with stimuli that he has recognized and accepted in the past — always comparing them with his own past experiences.

The sounds never become "words," thought-symbols, until he *does* recognize them somewhere within his past experiences. So you will impose upon yourself regular exercises in "vocabulary building," for the simple purpose of increasing your range of thought-symbols. You will find that the more precise and definite your thought processes become, the more exacting you will be as to the symbol you will require for communication of a thought-concept. If, for example, my audience was composed of professors interested in the study of neuro-psychology, the words that I use in this lecture would necessarily be compelled to reflect more exact thinking; in other words, they would have to be more technical.

The same psychological process is involved in *reading* as in *listening*. Physiologically, the stimuli come from nerve endings in the eye instead of the ear, but the same association with past impressions must accrue if a thought develops in the reader.

In *writing* or in *speaking* — not scribbling or jabbering — the process reverses itself. Through your expression you seek to cause an impression upon the receiver. The only excuse you have for purposeful writing or speaking is the hope that your combination of symbols will find a happy home within the mind of somebody else. If the combinations that you use correspond with acceptable previous thoughts of the recipient, an affirmative concept will emerge and you will have stimulated an idea.

Since communication with our fellow men travels a two-way street, it behooves us to forever extend, expand, deepen our environmental surroundings by learning more effectively to recognize and use words (thought-symbols) that have definite, precise meanings for our compatriots.

The Predisposed Audience —

By W. David Lewis

From Hamilton College, Mr. Lewis sends some trenchant thoughts on how a speaker may deal with an audience that has already made up its mind about the speaker.

"A STUDENT MAY GET AN 'A' in English Composition and a 'C' in Public Speaking on the basis of the personality factor alone," an instructor in English remarked to me not long ago.

"I think I could do a better job in speech class," a better-than-average student recently confessed to me, "if I didn't know the fellows in it so well." He might have added, "and if they didn't know me so well."

When the public speaking student enters the classroom he cannot leave his personality hanging in the outer hall with his cap and jacket. It follows him; and when he stands before his fellows in the speech situation his inner self manifests itself unmistakably. "Your speech," said Dr. Dominick A. Barbara in a recent issue of *Today's Speech*, "can reveal yourself and your most inner feelings and emotions."

In the majority of college courses, the student's work, hidden between the covers of a "bluebook," is safe from all prying eyes save those of the instructor, the sole judge of his performance. In contrast to this, the speech class has as many judges as there are listeners. One of the listener-judges happens to be the instructor; the rest are individuals much like the speaker himself. The judgments the latter will make on his performance will be closely connected not only with abstract theories gleaned from a speech book, but also with purely subjective personality evaluations revolving around his likeability or unlikeability. In David Riesman's concise terminology, they constitute a "peer group" whose standards of verbal consumption may be quite different in certain cases from those of the instructor.

The Speaker versus the Speech

In many instances a student's personality may be so well known by his classmates that a pattern of response to what he may say in his speech has been in a lengthy process of formation before he begins his talk. Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird have noted, "The attitude of the audience toward the speaker — based upon previous knowl-

edge of the latter's activities and reputation — cannot accurately be separated from the reaction the speaker induces through the medium of the speech."

The relevance of this statement to student responses in public speaking classes may vary somewhat as to the size of the student body of the institution at which these classes are held. One might guess that the smaller the college, the more intensely important will be the personality factor in predisposing student audiences to react in one way or another to a given speaker. It would be possible in a large university to assemble a public speaking class of fifteen or twenty members, none of whom had ever seen each other outside the speech section in which they happened to be enrolled. Save perhaps in the early part of orientation week, this would be impossible at the small college.

Whether at large universities or small colleges, this is not to suggest that every member of every public speaking section will be a beneficiary of tremendously favorable predispositions on the part of his fellows or a victim of very unfavorable ones. In most situations individual classmates will have only mild predilections toward each other, thus giving the individual speakers' communicative capabilities or deficiencies the great preponderance in eliciting favorable or unfavorable audience responses. In some cases, however, predispositions of relative intensity are bound to arise; and this phenomenon is one of the ways in which the mystical element of personality works powerfully in the classroom.

Student "A" may have a well-developed sense of logical organization; may have an admirable command of specific facts highly pertinent to his topic; may know certain stratagems of delivery calculated to secure a good response from his listeners. Many of his classmates, however, may pay him scant attention. Personality factors or other considerations affecting his status outside the classroom thus work against him in the speech situation.

Student "B" may lack many of the commendable speaking qualities that student "A" possesses, yet secure far more attention because he happens to be popular outside of class. Naturally, the tendency described here may sometimes happen in reverse; a speaker may do so well or act so graciously in his speech work that his classmates may for this reason be induced to react to him more favorably outside the classroom. Since the amount of time spent outside class is so much larger than that spent within, however, this counter-tendency has less room in which to operate.

If there is a great possibility that in many cases a student's activities outside his public speaking class will influence strongly the reception his speeches receive within it, there is a certainty that what he says and how he acts in the various rounds of speaking in which he participates will have a cumulative effect in influencing the predispositions of his classmates toward him.

In an actual case in my teaching experience, a student whom I will call "Bill" had been a life-guard during his summer vacation, and chose to give a demonstration of lifesaving techniques for his first speech of the fall semester. During the course of the speech he demonstrated how a life-guard may throw a coiled rope over the shoulder of a victim struggling some distance from shore. Picking out a student in a rear corner of the room, he threw a coil of rope so that it landed in exactly the proper position on the student's shoulder. This demonstration of accuracy probably had more to do with the fact that Bill's audience listened to him with marked respect and attention throughout the remainder of the speech than all the other commendable elements of his performance put together. The important thing to note here is that a certain amount of this respect remained in the hearers' minds. Although some of his subsequent speeches were not up to the standard of the first performance, Bill was always given a good deal of attention on any topic with which he chose to deal. He had been assured a fair hearing because of an enduring predisposition of respect he had been able to establish.

How to Bungle a Speech

Far different would be the hypothetical case of a student whom I will call "Don." Upon being assigned his first speech of the semester, this fundamentally insecure boy decides that any speech he delivers will have to be on a "superterrific" topic in order to be assured even a minimal response on the part of the audience

because of his self-imagined inadequacies as a speaker and (more important) as a person. Failing to realize that speeches with a "gimmick" are frequently much harder to deliver effectively than those whose approach is simpler and more fundamental, he overplays his hand. Selecting the exploits of a particularly heinous western outlaw as his topic, he swaggers to the rostrum at the appointed time, points an imaginary gun at the class, and imitates a hold-up routine. The audience, rather naturally, is unimpressed. Because the obvious bungle embarrasses the audience almost as much as the speaker, there is no overt expression of ridicule from the hearers; there is, however, a great deal of fidgeting and apparent uneasiness. Don's speech has failed before it has half begun; his personality, which induced him to begin the speech in an overdrawn way, has made it inevitable that the beginning will sound far-fetched and ridiculous. The worst element in the total situation is that a great residue of awkwardness and embarrassment will almost undoubtedly hang over the next performance by the same speaker. If Don's teacher is wise he will call him aside before the next round and advise him to "play it straight" in his subsequent speeches lest a formidable predisposition pattern be formed against him.

Attempts that Backfire

These predisposition patterns, whether they originate outside the speech classroom or within it through cumulative mistakes in speaking approach, provide a good illustration of Emerson's famous remark, "What you are speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you are saying." They by no means exhaust the ways in which personality can function, however, in a speech section. Students consciously or unconsciously recognize the need for rapport and make use of various techniques calculated to identify themselves with the group. One chief means of trying to secure this identification is to represent values, viewpoints, and standards supposedly judged most desirable by the group as college students.

Some of these attempts may backfire and build up predilection patterns whose effect is exactly the reverse of those originally desired. On the first day of classes following a recent Christmas vacation, I had some sections give short impromptu speeches on any one of a variety of topics, one of which was, "How I celebrated New Year's Eve." The first speaker who picked this topic emphasized the alcohol element rather heavily in

an obvious effort to identify himself as "one of the boys." The next speaker felt compelled to compete on these terms with his predecessor, with the result that obvious exaggerations on the drinking theme were utilized. The process continued for a short while, with the result being that far from contributing to real rapport, the continued use of rather overdrawn material produced a kind of anaesthesia most effectively broken by a student who admitted that he had touched relatively little of the stuff on the celebration occasion.

Because of popularity or unpopularity outside the classroom, as a cumulative result of preconditioning factors which evolve over the course of time within the speech itself, or because of good or poor use of techniques for the facilitation of rapport, personality plays a vital role in the speech class. Yet of all the factors which influence the success of a speech, this is one of the hardest for the instructor to evaluate. What is the instructor to say when, even though composition, content, delivery, and other criteria of good speechmaking are relatively commendable in a given performance, the speech does not "get through" to the hearers because of predisposition based on the personality factor, considerations of popularity or unpopularity, or residual handicaps hanging over from previous performances? What is he to say when a speech which impresses him only moderately "goes over" with the group because of favorable personality considerations or predispositions? These questions must frequently be examined further in light of the fact that the instructor may share some of the predilections of the students before the course is over.

Judging a Speech

The successful public speaking instructor should be able to inculcate in his students such knowledge of orthodox criteria of criticism that they will normally discriminate on the basis of these rather than because of predilections or personality factors. Nevertheless, if professionals in the field of speech analysis cannot always evaluate performances they hear (especially if they are made by controversial figures or deal with highly-charged issues) without predilections and prejudices, one cannot expect public speaking students to view the speeches they hear with consistent detachment. Is it unreasonable to expect the individual speaker to have some rough idea of what the audience predispositions are apt to be in his case and attempt to mitigate them to some extent if necessary?

A speech can hardly be described as successful if it does not "get through" to an audience, either immediate or potential. In the speech student's case, the immediate audience is the only one that counts. The analyst of public address can find many great speeches which failed to impress their immediate audiences when first given, but these efforts were directed to posterity as well as the actual hearers, or perhaps to an invisible audience which would read the speeches days later. This is not true of the ordinary speech.

Such considerations as these may well lead one never to give a superior grade to any speech which does not have the hearty sanction of the audience in general, no matter what he as the instructor thinks of it. One may still rate such a performance highly and give it considerably more credit than some ill-disposed listeners would think justifiable, but this is possible without the award of a top mark. Furthermore, the amount of enthusiasm (or lack of it) which an individual speech arouses among predisposed listeners may frequently be utilized in assessing borderline cases involving questions of a low "B" or a "C," a barely passing mark or a failing one, and so forth. Finally, one may derive some benefit in his own estimation of a speech by glancing at various members of the class-audience while it is being given to determine whether or not the instructor's feelings seem to be shared by the students as a group. In such ways one may be justified in allowing the predispositions of his students to give him a measure of guidance. Occasionally he may feel constrained to give grades mildly at variance with those he would have given if left to his own devices.

This is not to deny that the primary responsibility for assessing the worth of speeches does lie ultimately and irrevocably with the instructor. No teacher should allow student opinion to determine the larger considerations of what grades he assigns and to whom they are given. The instructor should have an adequate grasp of the principles of speech criticism and be able to implant these standards of appraisal in the minds of his students. What is being maintained is that student predispositions are an inevitable part of the classroom speech situation. As such they should count for something in all cases and be decisive in a few. The judgments of the "peer group" may in certain cases be a better indication of how the speaker will succeed in oral communication after his college days are over than those of the instructor himself.

Ghostwriting

Before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Radio

By W. Norwood Brigrance

Dr. Brigrance, Head of the Speech Department at Wabash College, and former President of the Speech Association of America, has written this historical account of ghosting to introduce the following three papers, which were presented at the last annual SAA Convention, in Los Angeles, on December 30, 1955. Dr. Brigrance is renowned throughout the Speech profession for his many years of brilliant service and leadership.

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES DISCUSS GHOSTWRITING as practiced in the United States today. But we should not be misled thereby into assuming that ghostwriting is a new wile, or that it was developed during the last 30 years following the appearance of radio, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that emerging new profession known as business management — whose members now go forth to speak, armed in a righteous cause with a manuscript supplied by their public relations counsel.

Ghostwriting, in fact, is as old as written records of history. Copies, for example, still exist of 15 speeches that were ghostwritten by Antiphon before 411 B.C., and he is known to have ghostwritten at least 21 more, now lost. Antiphon indeed is a name worth remembering, for he was the first representative at Athens of a rising new profession for which changing conditions of that time had just begun to make place — “the writer of speeches for money.”

From Antiphon to Eisenhower's Kevin McCann, members of this profession have exerted a strong influence on the flow of history. Sometimes they have been scribes for the illiterate. Sometimes they have been organizers and coordinators of ideas for great men who had all kinds of talents, except for words. Sometimes they have been employed by men with high talent for words, but who had not time under the pressure of other work for the drudgery of writing. For them the ghostwriter performed the drudgery, and the master of words retouched the language in his own image. But in one way or another, from the day of Antiphon, ghostwriters have been with us. We shall glance at a few of the outstanding.

Julius Caesar used several of his secretaries as ghostwriters, and one of them is credited with the immortal *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. At Caesar's death in 44 B.C., there was a “cleft in the record of Caesar's own composition.” Aulus Hirtius consented to be the ghostwriter. It was Hirtius who completed the account of the Gallic campaign, 51-50 B.C., and further completed the narrative of the Civil War from roughly January, 47 B.C., to March 15, 44 B.C. In short, Caesar not only had his Brutus. He also had his ghostwriter. . .

Eighteen hundred years later ghostwriting had established itself in high places of the New World. George Washington during the American Revolution had at least three secretaries who served as ghostwriters: Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., David Humphreys, and David Cobb. Washington's Victory Dispatch on the surrender of Cornwallis — seemingly like Caesar's for Asia — was ghostwritten: by David Humphreys. Humphreys wrote the dispatch and Washington signed it without change. Then in the fall of 1783, after the British had evacuated New York, Washington was called upon to attend five ceremonies of welcome in that city, half a dozen more on the march across New Jersey, and still another eight after he arrived in Philadelphia. At each his position required him to say a few fitting words of response. What was a man like Washington to do, with his awkward style and unready pen? He turned to David Humphreys, who by this time understood the mind of his Commander-in-Chief so well that he could write a speech that fitted the Commander's lips. Humphreys wrote these responses so each was a bit different from the others, and gave

each a personal touch that made each audience feel that Washington was talking specifically to them.

In the midst of this series of delightful little speeches, comes one that jars the eyes of a reader even today. That was Washington's Farewell Order to the Armies of the United States. It had a heavy introduction, superfluous statements within, and a feeble exhortation. Why? David Humphreys was ill, and Washington had to call on another ghostwriter, David Cobb. Unhappily, David Cobb was not equal to it.

Cobb was not the last ghostwriter engaged by Washington. The most outstanding, of course, was his calling upon James Madison and Alexander Hamilton for aid in drafting his Farewell Address. But that collaboration is well-known and need not be elaborated here.

Nor was Washington the last American President to engage a ghostwriter. How many used ghostwriters, and to what extent, has not been a subject of inquiry until recently. Even now little is known about it. But a few instances are worth noting.

Andrew Jackson relied chiefly on Amos Kendall for writing state papers. Jackson would lie on his bed, smoking vigorously, and talking out his ideas in "vigorous but imprecise language." Kendall would draft a paragraph and read it back. Jackson would shake his head, and try talking it out again. Kendall would draft it again, getting closer and closer until Jackson would relax satisfied, whereupon "Kendall himself would be surprised at the full force of the point." Jackson also had other ghostwriters. His veto of the Bank Charter was drafted by a team who worked on it for three days while Jackson passed in and out of the room, listening to different parts, and directing what was to be inserted and altered. Members of this team were Kendall, Andrew J. Donelson, Roger B. Taney, and Levi Woodbury. Though the others came and went, Amos Kendall remained, until Henry A. Wise whined to the House in 1838: "He was the President's *thinking* machine, and his *writing* machine, ay, and his *lying* machine."

We come next to Abraham Lincoln. After drafting his First Inaugural, Lincoln had it privately printed in Springfield. He then showed or mailed copies to trusted advisers. Among these were Judge David Davis, Senator O. H. Browning, Francis P. Blair, William H. Seward, and possibly Stephen A. Douglas. Altogether Lincoln made 44

changes from the first printed draft, 28 of them on the recommendations of others. Probably the most thorough-going was the conclusion, beginning with, "I am loath to close." Lincoln's original conclusion, Seward thought, was cold and lifeless, so Seward drafted another. Lincoln took Seward's conclusion, kept the thought and arrangement exactly as Seward had drafted it, but rewrote it in his own poetic language. The thought in that conclusion is Seward's. The words are Lincoln's.

Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, you will recall, had not learned to read and write until after he was 21. When the time came for his First Message to Congress, he called on the famous historian, George Bancroft. The original copy of that message is now in the Johnson Papers of the Library of Congress. It is in Bancroft's handwriting, together with a covering letter from Bancroft to Johnson.

Later, when Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Bill, he turned to a former United States Attorney General, Jeremiah S. Black. Black wrote the message for Johnson; and Black's draft, in Black's handwriting, is now among the Johnson Papers in the Library of Congress. Attached to it is Black's covering letter.

Jeremiah S. Black, in fact, was an old hand at ghostwriting for Presidents. He had drafted James Buchanan's message to Congress of January 8, 1861. The original copy, in Black's hand, is now among the Black Papers in the Library of Congress. He drafted the contents of Buchanan's reply to the Commissioners of South Carolina on Secession. The original copy of that document, in Black's hand, is among the Buchanan Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Buchanan prided himself on his high literary ability in writing state papers. Yet repeatedly he turned to Black to ghostwrite state papers and even letters. An extreme is when he had Black draft a letter *from Buchanan to Black*, in which Buchanan asked Black for his opinion as Attorney General. The original of this letter is now among the Buchanan Papers in Philadelphia. It is in Black's hand, with a notation on the back in Buchanan's hand, saying that this was "The form in which Judge Black desired I might propound the questions to him for his opinion."

But let us turn from American Presidents of the nineteenth century to those in the twentieth, on the eve of radio. Warren G. Harding had a speech writer during the 1920 campaign, a rising young newspaper editor, Arthur H. Vandenberg.

Later Vandenberg was asked if he coined Harding's phrase, "back to Normalcy." He replied in the classic words of ghostwriters down the centuries: "I don't claim it and I don't deny it. Normalcy certainly sounds like one of my words."

The master ghostwriter of the 1920's, however, was Judson G. Welliver, former editorial writer for the *Washington Times*. Welliver's biography in *Who's Who in America*, supplied by him, reads: "attached to White House organization after March 4, 1921, occupying a confidential relation to President Harding and Coolidge until November 1, 1925, resigned." Welliver was a versatile writer. He composed speeches in an ornate style for Harding, and in a frugal style for Coolidge. Jack H. Pollack insists that Welliver "frequently smiled over the solemn editorials" comparing the "different literary styles" of Harding and Coolidge. And why not?

Herbert Hoover's ghostwriter was French Strother. As the *Outlook* reported, January 29, 1930: "Mr. Strother's task [is] to assemble the facts for and write the President's speeches and messages and extracurriculum activities." "The general public is not aware" of this, "but it is known to the editors and writers with whom Mr. Strother associates."

Of course, Mr. Hoover is said to have denied that he ever had a ghostwriter. From his viewpoint it was an honest statement. He refused to use material as Strother wrote it, but, as the *Outlook* put it, would insert "freakish phraseology and constructions." He would split Strother's infinitives. Strother would change them back, and Hoover would reinsert them, "through half a dozen revisions." Finally, in May, 1931, Strother left the White House, but when the 1932 cam-

paign approached Hoover called him back again. Whatever were the secret terms that Strother exacted, the results were obvious. At once Hoover stopped using split infinitives and began using more literary language. Strother died in 1933, but Hoover, as late as August 10, 1954, on his 80th birthday, was still using some of those literary phrases taken verbatim from his 1932 campaign speeches.

For 2,300 years, then, ghostwriting has been a profession, widely practiced and not always without honor. Yet little is known of the operating practice of this profession, and that little is too often kept out of print. As a result, even scholars today sometimes assume that ghostwriting began after the appearance of radio. For example, a historian, Ernest R. May, published an article in *The American Scholar* during 1953 setting forth that historians who interpret recent history face a new hazard not faced by historians who deal with earlier periods. This hazard is the ghostwriter. Said he: "Public men have found that by hiring ghost writers to hack out their letters, speeches, and books, they can obtain leisure for philosophy and politics." This hazard, thought he, was new: "Despite a few examples from the distant past, ghost-written sources form a major problem only for the historian of the past two decades," or in other words, "since 1933." Even *Time* carried a report on May's article, and gravely announced that now historians had a new hazard, the ghostwriter.

This survey, I hope, will allay that fear, and enable readers to enjoy the interesting articles that follow, undiluted by worries of what the ghostwriters of today will do to the historians of tomorrow.

COMING IN NOVEMBER

The November issue, guest-edited by Professor Joseph F. O'Brien (while Editor Oliver is in Asia and Europe — possibly hunting new ideas on communication), will contain an article by David Phillips on "Oral Communication in Industry" — and a group of articles on parliamentary law, including: what a Congressman needs to know, the legal side, and what underlies it all. More, too, on salesmanship and other uses of speech in today's world.

Ghostwriting

In Presidential Campaigns

By Robert F. Ray

Dr. Ray, Director of the Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, discretely admits to some experience as a "ghost."

NO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE of either of America's great political parties could possibly campaign effectively for that high position without the assistance of a vast number of persons. Speech-making is a very important part of an effective campaign. Many other activities are also important.

Thousands upon thousands of persons believe themselves endowed with an ability to advise a candidate concerning the stand he ought to take on important issues. Some of these persons, by virtue of their positions within the party or the press, or other interest groups, not only express their views through the mails and telephone but insist upon doing so personally. The candidate must manage to be free to see many of these persons. He must also approve all plans for the campaign which involve his travels about the country as well as meet with other spokesmen who will speak in his behalf. Should he travel on a train there will be important dignitaries to meet in every state. Often these persons will board the train as it enters their state and wish to confer while en route. All of these conferences take time. Additionally, there are endless details of planning strategy and making it effective through radio and television appeals, spot announcements, newspaper advertising campaigns, press conferences, rear platform train appearances of the whistle-stop variety, etc., *ad infinitum*.

Delegating Responsibility

Once caught in the hurly-burly of the campaign (and it begins the moment of nomination) the candidate finds it imperative to budget his time most carefully. He must gather about him persons he can trust and delegate responsibility—the alternative is to be deluged with minutiae.

Now no one would expect a presidential candidate to carry his own baggage, make hotel

reservations, engage the halls and plan receptions. Most people, however, believe a candidate ought to be capable of "writing his own speeches," even though he may deliver thirty major addresses in sixty days on thirty major problems confronting a hundred and sixty-five million Americans at home and abroad.

No man could possibly prepare such a volume of addresses without assistance, especially since each address will be subjected to the most extensive kind of appraisal by experts and laymen alike in every problem area concerned. Statistical data must be absolutely accurate, for proof of error may cost the votes which could mean victory. Factual material must be prepared for background use by the candidate—an abuse of the facts may be equally costly.

If it is agreed that the candidate ought to be well informed and assured of expert reference service, then it would appear that concern over the extent to which he "writes his own speeches" becomes a problem of degree. The same reasoning which requires a worthy candidate to be thoroughly informed of the facts and statistical data concerning a problem requires him also to have the views and advice of persons who know the problems of the nation intimately. He is expected to be guided by their advice. Why should a man be praised for being well-advised—and yet be censured if he uses words prepared by a competent adviser for a campaign speech?

Many persons believe ghost writing to be an evil of great proportions. They either believe it is personally dishonest for a man to deliver a speech written by another or that the speaker is in danger of becoming a tool in the hands of certain interest groups who might manipulate his utterances as a ventriloquist manages a puppet.

Let us examine these points of view more carefully. Even among the readers of this article I

doubt that any man who has a wife has failed to subject himself to her criticism of any speech he intends to present in public. She may even offer a comment or two about what she hears and the comment may bring about an amendment or two. Changing the words to please the spouse is not generally considered to be tantamount to sharing authorship. One simply does not rise to say by way of introduction "My wife and several fellows I know helped me prepare this speech."

If it is "dishonest" to deliver a speech which another person helped to prepare, then most speakers are to some degree "dishonest." That is to say, there cannot be such a concept as complete dependence on self in any speech effort in which the speaker advances premises beyond the realm of his personal observation, personal fact-gathering or personal experience. The individuality of the speech will be and must be inversely proportional to the degree that the offering is based upon premises, factual data, statistics, reasoning, references to authority and argument from sources beyond the speaker's personal involvement in their establishment. This is primary and fundamental.

It would be "dishonest," indeed, for a speaker, particularly a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, to fabricate statistical or "factual" data upon which he bases his arguments. If it is reasonable to expect him to procure the findings of expert researchers as evidence, then it ought to be reasonable to expect him to procure the services of experts in presenting the premises and arguments so his efforts will be as persuasive as he can make them. In the opinion of this writer one is neither more nor less "honest" than the other.

Ghostly Puppeteer?

The second consideration—that of whether or not the speaker becomes a puppet of those who help in the preparation of his speeches—seems to suggest a "cart before the horse" line of reasoning. It seems to say the speech assistants hire the candidate, instead of the candidate hiring the assistants. In the case of candidates for national office, the implications of this suggestion go beyond rhetorical considerations and constitute an attack on the processes by which such candidates are chosen. If it can be proved to the public satisfaction that a candidate is the mere tool of any faction or interest group (and charges of this type are the stuff of which politics have ever been at

least partially made) the proof must be damning indeed. Such proof, when possible to come up with it, will show weakness in the political processes that allow such a candidate to be nominated in the first place.

In this as in all other cases, suspicion is not proof, and the critic of rhetoric will carefully examine the proof or fail his calling by basing his observations otherwise.

At the root of the matter is a judgment of the integrity of the candidate. The nature of the American press and the force of television have made "fooling the people" more and more difficult on this score, and they ought to have made it impossible to fool the serious critic of contemporary political address.

The Dewey-Roosevelt Campaign

Let us look now to the way in which the candidates in the 1944 presidential campaign prepared their speeches. The candidates were Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey.

There is a remarkable similarity in the methods of speech preparation employed by the two men. Both were assisted by persons who helped to draft speeches, and some of these assistants were researchers and some were writers. Mr. Roosevelt could call upon men in the government and their research staffs for memoranda. Mr. Dewey was provided research assistance through a staff formed for that purpose and headed by Mr. John E. Burton. Both men relied heavily upon one or two persons who were responsible for early drafts of speeches. In the case of Mr. Roosevelt the men were Judge Samuel I. Rosenman and Robert Sherwood. Mr. Dewey's principal assistant was Mr. Elliott V. Bell.

For a further account see: *An Evaluation of the Public Speaking of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey in the Presidential Campaign of 1944*, by Robert F. Ray, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1947.

In both cases speeches usually evolve from a process beginning with a conference. Present sometimes would be special advisers who had particular important information to offer concerning the topic or the audience or both, but those to be responsible for the first draft were almost always present.

After discussion of the strategy and purpose to be achieved by the speech, both men orally outlined what they wanted in the speech. According to Steve Early, who was Roosevelt's Press Secre-

tary, the President's thoughts about a speech were often transcribed by a stenographer and his remarks at this point could serve as a kind of "first draft."

Either alone or with the help of other experts, the principal writers would then prepare drafts. These would be submitted to the candidates and subsequently would be discussed in conference after being thoroughly checked by responsible persons for factual and statistical accuracy.

At this point in the preparation of Governor Dewey's speeches, if the approach to the topic did not please him, he would do one of the following: return it with a notation; call a conference with Mr. Burton and Mr. Bell; prepare riders or additions to be included and then ask that the original copy to be cut so that time limitations of radio could be met; redraft the speech; make revisions by striking out and substituting; or strike out whole sections; and, as the situations demanded, combine these procedures.

At this point in the preparation of President Roosevelt's speeches, he would do one of the following: redictate it; criticize it in marginal notations; or amend it by striking out and substituting sections. The patterns in both cases were quite similar.

There followed in both cases a resubmitting of the speech to the writers and further consideration by the speakers in a continuing process until the final draft resulted. Many of the speeches of both candidates underwent eight or nine draftings.

Besides the writing assistants, several other persons were asked to comment on the drafts as the speeches evolved to their final form. In both cases these would include political leaders as well as experts in the topical area. Incidentally, the wives of both candidates were almost always included in this group. The press secretaries of both men invariably were asked to comment concerning the probable reception the address would receive in

the press, including comments about what the "lead" or headline would be like.

Before a speech was delivered by either candidate he carefully reviewed it and "said it aloud" to make certain its delivery would be easy for him (or "in his style").

"They Wrote Their Own Speeches"

A careful investigation of the speech preparation processes of both candidates reveals that:

1. The ideas were those of the speaker.
2. The speakers both availed themselves of expert advice concerning factual and statistical data.
3. The speakers both participated in the drafting process and were clearly responsible for the speeches in their final form.

Insofar as the end products reflected the points of view, desired word arrangement, style, and intent of the speakers, the 1944 candidates for the presidency "wrote their own speeches." The speeches did not result from a process involving only pen and paper in the solitude or privacy of their personal chambers. They wrote them with assistance from others. To have expected them to do otherwise would be to have expected the impossible.

In the judgment of this writer, the critic of contemporary presidential campaign speeches has the responsibility to investigate thoroughly the matter of authorship. In addition to the established canons of criticism it is incumbent upon the critic that he know the character of those who assist in speech preparation and, to the extent possible, the degree of their influence in the speech-preparing process. His judgment of the speakers should be tempered by these factors and a full understanding of the pressures of time and the magnitude of the responsibilities of seeking this high office which confronts the candidates. Such judgment will be unclouded with demands that all preparation and authorship be attributed to the speaker alone.

AND STILL MORE GHOSTS. . . .

Charley Michelson's book, *The Ghost Talks*, is a delightful and revealing discussion of the role of the ghost in the various New Deal Campaigns. In our own TODAY'S SPEECH, for January, 1954, Walter Stelkovic presented an analysis of "Ghostwriting: Ancient and Honorable." Yes, the ghosts have flourished, and still do, but we cling to the notion that ghosts are less substantial and somehow less "alive" than the real thing. Maybe Shakespeare had an idea when he wrote, "A poor thing. . . .but mine own."

The Speech-writing Team

in a State Political Campaign

By Donald K. Smith

Minnesota played a vital role in the pre-convention presidential campaign in 1952 (when a large write-in vote for Eisenhower started him toward the White House) and in 1956 (when Stevenson was checked by Kefauver). Dr. Smith, Department of Speech and Theatre, University of Minn., writes of his experience on the ghostwriting team of Governor Freeman.

THIS PAPER WILL SEEK TO DESCRIBE some aspects of the organization, activities, assumptions, and problems of a speech-writing team in a state political campaign. The campaign in question was the 1954 campaign of Orville L. Freeman for the governorship of the State of Minnesota, as the candidate of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party.

For several reasons it is desirable to be cautious concerning the opinions delivered in this paper. First, Mr. Freeman's 1954 campaign was successful, and he is now serving his first term as Governor of Minnesota. There has always been some tendency to assume that decisions made during a successful political campaign were good, or at least shrewd decisions. Witness the praise which has been lavished, in hindsight, upon former President Truman's 1948 campaign, and the equally latter-day doubt about Thomas E. Dewey's effort of that same year. A second reason for viewing the opinions of this paper with caution is that the author was directly involved in writing for Governor Freeman's campaign, and is therefore somewhat less than a dispassionate observer. Finally, it is well to keep in mind that the public speaking activities of a political campaign are a minor portion of the total effort of the campaign. Like the visible part of an iceberg, the public appearances of a candidate tend to attract the most attention and speculation from politically-minded bystanders. For this reason, their importance to the total campaign effort, while real enough, is easily exaggerated.

The word *team* may suggest a somewhat larger group than was actually involved in speech writing for Governor Freeman's 1954 campaign. The entire team consisted basically of one full-time paid writer, and one part-time paid writer. In the

last month of the campaign a third part-time worker was added to do research and "leg work"; i.e., gather data for particular speeches, conduct interviews, deliver television scripts, arrange television rehearsals, and so forth. And in the last two weeks of the campaign, a fourth part-time writer was added. An effort was made throughout the campaign to enlist volunteers to do research in relation to the various issues. By far the largest proportion of the work of a political campaign is contributed by volunteers, but the use of such unpaid workers to do research for speeches proved unproductive. Volunteers were found, and they worked willingly enough; but their lack of familiarity with the on-going rhetoric of the campaign, and the immediate need of the writers caused their work to be largely wasted motion.

The basic mission of this writing team was to prepare scripts and visual materials and to provide direction for some 123 radio and television appearances. Approximately six months before election, candidate Freeman started a thrice-weekly, five-minute radio commentary. These programs were broadcast over the Minneapolis radio station with the largest state-wide listening audience. They were also transcribed and broadcast over a number of local radio stations in various areas of the state, with the number of local outlets being increased as the campaign moved toward election day. They were also mimeographed for a large circulation list of party workers. Approximately four months before election day, the candidate began a twice-weekly five-minute television commentary. As the election neared, at first one and then two 15-to-20 minute television programs, four special thirty-minute television spots, and a half dozen weekly 15-minute radio spots were added.

The total number of shows for which scripts, visual aids, and direction were furnished by the speech-writing team totalled: 70 five-minute radio commentaries, three 15-minute radio speeches, 33 five-minute television commentaries, nine 15 to 20-minute television shows, and four 30-minute television shows.

Grouping the tasks of script writing, production of visual aids for telecasts, and directing of telecasts in the hands of the same persons was a decision which emerged as the campaign progressed. It is obviously not an inevitable definition of the task of a particular writing team; and it covers only a portion of the rhetorical effort of the campaign; but it is possible to identify some of the pressures which produced this particular grouping in this campaign.

First, Candidate Freeman was a thoroughly competent extemporaneous speaker. In his several hundred personal appearances around the state, he spoke extemporaneously by preference, and undertook personally all of the preparation of these speeches. This limited the need for speech-writing services to the candidate's radio and television appearances. Mr. Freeman's skill as an extemporaneous speaker also made possible the rapid development and production of television appearances. He characteristically worked without a script, and ordinarily without notes in his appearances before the camera.

Second, early in the campaign it was assumed that volunteer assistance could be found to develop the visual supports for television appearances—the charts, pictures, film-clips, and objects which would exploit the visual possibilities of the television medium. Some such help was used, but for the most part the duties of preparing these visual supports fell upon one of the members of the writing team, who also took responsibility for directing the great bulk of the television programs on which the candidate appeared. This consolidation of script writing, art-work production, and direction in the hands of the writing team seemed a happy solution in terms of the capabilities and interests of the personnel involved.

Third, early in the campaign it was assumed that the writing team would share part of the task of press relations; i.e., the preparation of press releases, and the preparation of possible visual materials for the television news service. Early in the campaign, the writing-team did some of the work of issuing press releases. For the most part, however, press relations were handled by

another member of Mr. Freeman's staff, or by the candidate himself. Similarly, the speech writers were only occasionally involved in the preparation of campaign literature or radio and television spot announcements.

It should be observed that all the rhetoric of a political campaign—the speeches, programs, literature, advertisements, spot announcements, and press releases—emanate from the same basic political decision underlying the campaign. That is to say, they serve the same strategic decisions, present the candidate as a particular sort of person, propose the same lines of argument, and the same proofs. Ideally, they reinforce and call attention to one another. In the campaign under question, the coordination of these various aspects was undertaken by the candidate, serving as his own campaign manager. The allocation of particular jobs to particular persons would seem to be based more on the skill of the personnel available than upon any preconceived ideal structure for rhetorical organization. However, so far as I know, almost no effort has been made to study the important problems of rhetorical management as they relate to the generality of political or persuasive campaigns.

It would be impossible to describe any single pattern of preparation followed in the writing of Mr. Freeman's radio and television scripts, but the most common aspects of preparation can be set forth. In the first place, the writers sat in on many of the general conferences at which the basic political decisions of the campaign were made. Thus, they had early and close familiarity with the major themes which the candidate would be developing in his speaking, and with the major lines of argument which would be used in support of these themes. For example, an obvious theme of the D-F-L. party in Minnesota was that the opposing party had grown old and apathetic in office, unresponsive to the needs of the people of the state. This is not an unfamiliar theme in American politics. Indeed, since the D-F-L. had not elected a governor in Minnesota for 16 years, it was an almost inevitable theme. It was also a theme for which a great variety of concrete illustrations could be developed in Minnesota. Next, with few exceptions, the decision as to the specific scope of each radio and television program was made by the candidate himself. As the campaign developed, it was common practice to hold a general conference once a week, at which time the subjects of the speeches for the forthcoming week

would be established, and either the basic information to be incorporated into these speeches would be relayed to the speech writers or else the sources from which they could obtain such information would be settled. By all odds the most prolific source of information for these speeches was the candidate himself. A man of both immense energy and great intellectual power, he had for the two years preceding the campaign gathered voluminous information on all phases of state government.

The writers then prepared a draft copy of each speech, which was returned to the candidate for approval. It was Mr. Freeman's practice to give each speech careful scrutiny. In the early stages of the campaign he ordinarily made extensive revisions of the manuscript; changes of style to place the speech within an idiom with which he felt comfortable; changes to underline the importance of particular ideas to which he wished to give emphasis; perhaps the addition of a phrase which he had found effective in one of his extemporaneous speeches. On rare occasions the speech would be re-written in its entirety. On even rarer occasions, in the late stages of the campaign, the speech would be read aloud to a group of listeners on Mr. Freeman's staff, to secure their reactions to particular ideas, or particular turns of phrase, prior to the public presentation of the speech.

One of the constant hazards confronted by the candidate who speaks frequently is that he will, through an unfortunate phrase, or an inept illustration, do more damage to his own cause than could possibly be worked by his political opponents. For this reason it was considered theoretically desirable by the candidate that as many as possible of his speeches should be examined by a number of persons, prior to presentation, for elimination of passages with possible unfortunate connotations. This procedure was too time-consuming to be much used, however, and was not much welcomed by members of the writing team whenever used. Speeches which are too much worked over by too many persons whose contributions are primarily negative or defensive tend to take on the pallid cast of an extended platitude.

Two interesting, but not altogether compatible, assumptions developed as controls over the style and lines of argument to be used in Mr. Freeman's radio speeches. The first of these rose from the concept of Mr. Freeman as the leader and major spokesman for the State Ticket of the D-F-L.

party. The campaign was a movement of opinion, affected by the activities of a very large number of persons, and by the interplay of a very large number of events. A particular speech was not to be viewed as a decisive or even extremely significant act of persuasion. Rather, it was a small event, which, it might be hoped, would be harmonious with the flow of the entire movement of opinion. From this point of view, the five-minute, thrice-weekly radio speeches might seem to lose importance as individual acts of persuasion.

Actually, they took on importance of another sort. This added importance was that these speeches became carriers of the important propositions, lines of argument, and information which might be used by the entire State Ticket in its campaign against incumbent Republican office holders. The broadcasts of these speeches throughout the state, and their distribution in mimeographed form to D-F-L. candidates and party workers, was presumed to give some rhetorical unity to the entire party effort. That is to say, these speeches were a ready resource from which any party worker could gather information favorable to his cause, and from which any candidate could develop a speech for use in his own campaigning. It would be possible to assume that the materials in these speeches found their way into the conversation of loyal Democrats as election time neared and interest in politics increased. This could be a wishful hypothesis. There is no actual evidence to indicate that this development occurred.

Another interesting assumption concerning the radio series was that the most important form of direct proof to be incorporated in these speeches was the personality of Mr. Freeman. That is to say, it was assumed that while information and lines of argument may delight persons with intense party feelings, or intense political interests, yet the vast majority of the public is more concerned with making an estimate concerning what sort of person the candidate is. It was not always easy to harmonize the assumption that the speeches were to be carriers of the rhetorical line of the D-F-L. party with the assumption that they were to acquaint the voters with a person whom they would find attractive. The first assumption led to an emphasis on argumentative materials; the latter assumption made it important that the speeches pass along the fact that the candidate was a good family man, that he had an excellent war record, that he was a leader in his church and

community, that he was thoughtful, friendly, warm, and human in his relations with other persons.

Speech teachers are familiar with the fact that short, hard-hitting argumentative speeches do not necessarily cause audiences to respond favorably to the speaker as a person. It would be reasonable to say that nearly everyone connected with Mr. Freeman's campaign worried about this problem and that no one had any very decisive answer to it. Some speeches were modified to include more non-argumentative human interest materials; some speeches, especially those which fell near national holidays, left the field of political argument completely. But, in general, resolution of this problem was made in the only way possible, on the premise that the candidate ought to be himself. Mr. Freeman was most at home in making speeches which were argumentative, aggressive, loaded with information, and directly relevant to the political issues facing the voters of the state. The bulk of his speeches followed this style. Such speeches revealed his breadth of information, his intellectual competence, and his seriousness of purpose. It is to be hoped, at least, that a considerable group of voters will always find personal attributes of this sort as reasons to vote for a candidate, rather than against him.

In closing, I should like to comment briefly on the general problem of the ethics of ghost writing. So far as the writing of political speeches is concerned, the problem seems substantially nonexistent to me. The candidate for public office must necessarily assume full responsibility for the speeches he makes. Whether he writes the first draft of such speeches or not, his reputation must rest upon what he says, and it is both proper and inevitable that his listeners and history judge him for what he says. Second, I doubt that it is possible for speech writers to create a false reputation for a man. A ghost writer may deceive an English instructor as to the capabilities in composition of one of his students; a speech writer has no such capability. He can write the speech, but he cannot deliver it. Speech teachers know that a student may seek to reproduce the cleverly illustrated platitudes of the *Reader's Digest* as a speech of his own making, but the effort seldom produces even a passably effective speech. A speech, what-

ever the origin of its first draft, does reveal the speaker, and its revelation is seldom more damaging than when the speaker attempts to communicate ideas and attitudes which are not fully his own. I do not believe that voters choose bad men because they have been deceived by clever speech writers.

Finally, it is impossible to conceive that men who occupy positions of institutional leadership either could or should take the time to originate the scripts for all of their public pronouncements. *College professors can do this and probably ought to.* Most college presidents cannot; most politicians cannot; most leaders of industry or labor cannot. I question the tendency of some to imply that there is a moral problem involved in an activity as essential and inevitable as that of ghost writing. Some persons approach the reality of ghost writing with the mincing nobility which occasioned Margaret Fuller's favorite utterance, "I accept the universe". It may be well that they recall Thomas Carlyle's comment upon hearing this. "Gad," he stated, "She'd better!"

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Ghostwriting

By Ernest G. Bormann

Dr. Bormann (Eastern Illinois State College) "spills the beans" and tells us where ghostwriting can be hired. Doing so, he brings the ghosts to life.

Agencies

POLITICIANS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS have access to ghostwriters whenever they feel the need of them. Business executives have been using secretaries, advertising men and public relations counsels for the same purpose.¹ But what of the rest of the population?

Until recently the man on the street has not had an easily available ghostwriting service. Now, all that is changed. Today anyone—housewife, laborer, doctor, dentist and school teacher can easily have a speech written to order. This service, by mail or by personal conference, is furnished by the ghostwriting agencies that have sprung up in our major centers of population during the last thirty years.

After starting rather slowly, the industry gained momentum in the early 1930's and by 1940 the agency approach to ghostwriting had become conspicuous enough to warrant an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. In that article, E. M. Stern reported the results of a survey of such agencies and concluded that by 1940 the "heading 'Ghostwriter'" appeared in the classified telephone directories of New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh with a cross reference from Ghostwriters to Writers in those of two others, Chicago and San Francisco.²

Today the same investigation would reveal at least forty agencies in Detroit, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Washington, D. C., Berkeley, Philadelphia, Oakland, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York.³

The pattern of expansion is indicated by a sample of twenty firms currently in operation. Only one of the twenty was established before 1930. That one, Hawthorne, Wilson and Strauss of New York City, was founded in 1926. In the decade from 1930 to 1940, six of the twenty firms were founded, five of them in the years from 1933 to 1936. During the second World War only one firm was started, but since 1946 the increase in new agencies has been striking; over half—

eleven—of the twenty agencies surveyed began in the last nine years.⁴

New York City is the agency center with at least fifteen firms that operate in the ghostwriting field; Chicago is second with about six. Although the agencies are concentrated in the larger urban areas, they will take a job anywhere in the United States.

The ghostwriting agencies have flourished in spite of the fact that they do not benefit from that most effective of all advertising: word of mouth recommendation. So the man in search of a speech is not likely to hear about the agency from a neighbor who has just given a ghostwritten speech at the district meeting of the lodge, no matter how pleased the neighbor is with the agency's work.

Some firms advertise discretely in the classified section of the *Saturday Review of Literature* or the book review section of the *New York Times* and the speaker might find an agency to meet his needs listed there. But, if he wants a speech ghostwritten the best method is to look in the classified section of the telephone directory of a large city. While in some cities there are firms that frankly list themselves as a Ghostwriter's Service, or a Ghostwriters Bureau, the great majority of the firms have more euphonistic titles. For every firm called Speeches Unlimited, The Speech Writers, or the Wordmasters, there will be several listed as literary, educational or research organizations. Thus, you will find ghostwriting firms listed under the following titles: Writers Service, Educational Research Association, Literary Service, Confidential Collaborating Counsel, Manuscript Service, Publishers Editorial Services, National Reference Library and Literary Consultants.

Should the prospective client write to several agencies, one glance at the agency advertisements and the agency letterheads would convince him that he was dealing with the supermarket of

ghostwriting. For like the supermarket, the typical agency offers a wide range of products. Here the potential customer can shop for ghostwritten term papers, poems, songs, short stories, novels, books, biographies, magazine articles, contest items, advertising copy, business and personal letters, essays, reports, brochures and speeches of all kinds. Some even offer such academic goods as M. A. theses and Ph. D. dissertations.

While the offerings of the agency suggest a supermarket, the actual functioning of the service is more like a lonely hearts bureau. Like the matrimonial agency that helps to get the willing woman and the hopeful man together, the ghostwriting agency acts as a clearing house to get the hopeful speaker and the willing ghost together. Here is the way it works. The speaker in need of help writes to the agency telling of his problem. He gets an estimate of the cost and agrees or disagrees to have the job done. If he agrees to use the agency's service, the director will assign one of the staff writers to the job, or if the speech poses some special problems, he will run through his file of reserve writers until he finds one whom he thinks is qualified to do this particular speech. The agency director checks to see if the writer is free to take on another assignment and if he is, he assigns this writer to the task and from then on the ghost and the client work on the speech together. Sometimes the client does a good bit of work; sometimes he does little more than give directions as to what he wants done and the ghost does the research as well as writes the speech. Preferably, for the ghost, a conference or a series of conferences will be arranged in which the client discusses the speech with the writer. If the speech is important enough and the client cannot come to the agency to meet the writer, the writer is usually willing to come to the client; however, in such a case transportation and living expenses will be added to the cost of the speech. The writer likes to meet the speaker face to face so he can better size up his style and manner of speaking.

When a conference is not practical, the same general approach is carried on by correspondence and the agency will request certain information about the speaker to help the writer tailor the speech to the client.

One agency says that "...it would be advisable to have some correspondence..." with the prospective client so they can learn something of the "...style and personality..." of the speaker.⁵

Another would like to know, "...how fast client talks and if he has any special defects."⁶ Still another would require information about his "work and background..."⁷

Frequently the writer doing his job by mail would like to have some information about the audience. One agency requests information on: "The occasion, nature of audience to be addressed, topic...objective and points to be emphasized."⁸

Another agency would like to know about the "Nature of audience and occasion; approximate educational level of audience, and whether mixed or of one sex; purpose and objective of speech; main theme or central idea."⁹

While the specific information requested will be helpful to the writer he is also interested in corresponding with the client to get some impression of his style. The skillful ghost will try to interpret the personality of the speaker by studying his letters.

This attempt to write the speech so the ghost is invisible in the finished product is one of the most difficult tasks for the ghostwriter. One ghost comments, "Clients accustomed to speech-making offer a difficult problem to ghostwriters, as highlights of the individual personality must be taken into consideration."¹⁰ Another says of speeches, "They are hard work because there is more of a personal element in them."¹¹

The ghostwriter must be versatile. He stands prepared to write speeches for any and all occasions. One agency says, "It is conceivable that we might be unable to ghostwrite a particular kind of speech, but as yet we have not met any such assignment."¹² So the ghost may write television speeches, after-dinner speeches, radio speeches, political addresses, lectures and technical reports to learned societies. (During the course of this research one agency offered to help with this paper for twenty-five dollars.)

The Michelson's Ghost-Writers Service of New York City rather specializes in medical and dental subjects. But in addition to speeches and articles on professional subjects, some typical assignments for this firm include such things as articles on: television, the strategic importance of the Panama Canal, the political set-up of a large city and speeches for such occasions as a "farewell address for a teacher, given at the end of 30 years of faithful service," and a speech for an elevator man to make at a wedding at which he was best man.¹³

Of the difficulty of writing various kinds of speeches one writer has this to say: "Political

speeches are probably the easiest written as the appeal is generally to the emotions and may include sentimental 'padding.' One political speech of an hour length could probably be written in the same length of time as would be required for a ten minute speech for a professional client."¹⁴

Another ghost prefers to write radio talks, "... because the technical requirements give a hard-and-fast framework within which you must work—and are thereby supported. You just find out how fast your client talks, multiply the number of words per minute by his allotted time—and there you are. In addition there are studio conventions which must be observed, and you can always tell the client, 'But you can't say that; it's against the rules.' Orations, mostly after-dinner speeches, are in contrast loose and limp affairs. Almost anything goes."¹⁵

The ghost thus undertakes almost any speech-writing job, from "doctoring" a speech to the other extreme of doing the research as well as the writing. He will write a "loose and limp" after-dinner speech or a political address full of "sentimental padding" as well as a difficult technical report where, as one ghost put it, "factual material is of extreme importance."¹⁶ The charges vary, depending on the difficulty of the job and the amount of actual research or writing that is done by the ghost.

The costs differ, too, from agency to agency, so the prospective client can probably find an agency to fit his budget if he shops around. For a ten-minute speech, agency prices vary from a low of five dollars to a high of about one hundred dollars; the average is somewhere around fifty dollars. For a thirty-minute speech, the prices range from a low of thirty dollars to a high of two hundred and fifty dollars with an average of about one hundred dollars. For an hour speech the lower prices run from thirty-five to fifty dollars and the upper limit is around nine hundred dollars. The average charge for an hour speech is about two hundred and fifty dollars. In all cases research is extra.¹⁷

The agency structure varies, too, with the size and affluence of the firm. The smaller agency may consist of only one writer and an assistant, but the big agency will have a director, plus several staff writers and a battery of secretaries. In addition to this full-time nucleus, the larger agency will have a number of writers, sometimes as many as two or three hundred, on call for special jobs.

These reserve writers are usually specialists in some field and the jobs that fall within their special area are channeled in their direction by the agency manager. Most professions are represented in the file of reserve writers that the agency maintains. Thus the agency can call on ghosts who are engineers, doctors, dentists, and lawyers. The staff of one agency was reported to have, in addition to the usual ghostwriters, a "... colonel in the United States army, an astrologer, a television expert and an authority on tariffs."¹⁸ The Michelson's Ghost-Writer Service has, for example, a staff of four, and over two hundred writers on call for special jobs.¹⁹

Such firms as Speeches Unlimited and The Speech Writers, specialize in the writing of speeches, but even the more typical agency that offers a wide range of services does much business in the speech writing field. One ghost calls speech writing the bread "... and some of the butter..." of his profession.²⁰ One bureau says that more than half of its business is speech writing.²¹

Businessmen make up the largest group of customers. However, professional men, particularly doctors and dentists, also use the agencies' services. Lawyers and clergymen tend to do their own writing.

E. M. Stern summed up a study of the clientele of the agencies as follows: "Clubwomen who leave standing orders for monthly book reviews; the millionaire who makes a hobby of going about delivering speeches; the father requesting a two-minute talk to give at his daughter's wedding, and those aunts who frequently order a song in honor of their nephews are the kind of clients known as 'vanity trade.' It is exceptional and sporadic, not the backbone of the business. Most people pay only for some definite utilitarian purpose."²²

The ghostwriter justifies his function by arguing that ghostwriting is the logical outcome of specialization. Most people, the ghost argues, are too busy doing other things to develop the mastery of language that it takes to write a good speech. Is it not better, then, to call in the specialist to rework the material and bring it into suitable form? The alternative is for the speaker to take out time from the work for which he is suited and trained to try to write the speech himself. Since he is not an expert at speech writing he wastes time he might better spend working at other things and inflicts upon the audience a crude and inferior speech.

If this premise is accepted then the premise underlying most speech courses in our schools must be rejected. We should then train only the specialists who will be the ghostwriters of the future. The American University in Washington, D. C. took a step in that direction when it offered a course in Ghostwriting in 1952.

The ghostwriter's argument goes counter to the philosophy that every person should be able to speak and write for himself and that the good citizen must be articulate.

As yet the ghostwriting agencies do not account for a great percentage of the speech making done in this country. The number of agencies is small, their service is relatively new and many people are unaware of their existence. But the agencies are growing both in number and size. They have the potential to blanket the country with a ghostwriting service for every need and every pocketbook.

¹ "Speaking from personal experience, (I was originally p. r. director at Hempstead—then backslid into the advertising field itself), I would guess that about 25% of my time was taken up in writing articles with a top management client's byline, news stories ascribed to a client by direct quotation, or speeches for trade associations. At one time we had a man in Bloomington, Illinois, whose primary function was writing speeches for the executive vice-president of Eureka Williams Corp. . . . I would guess that between p. r. counselors and advertising agencies, much more ghosting is being done than by professional ghosting services." Information in a letter to the author from William Hendricks of William Hendricks Associates, Chicago, Illinois, November 10, 1955.

² "Cash and No-credit Business," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXIII, (October 26, 1940), p. 11.

³ This figure was arrived at by examining the telephone directories of the larger cities of the United States.

⁴ This includes six New York agencies, three from Chicago, two each from Washington, D.C., Denver, and Philadelphia, and one from Berkeley, Oakland, Los Angeles, Hollywood and Cleveland.

⁵ Information in letter to author from The Kerner Sisters, Philadelphia, Pa., July 12, 1955.

⁶ Information in letter to author from Mears Manuscript Service, Washington, D.C., July, 1955.

⁷ Information in letter to author from Hawthorne, Wilson and Strauss, New York City, July, 1955.

⁸ Information in letter to author from Ghostwriters Bureau, New York City, July, 1955.

⁹ Information in letter to author from Authors and Speakers Service, Chicago, Ill., July, 1955.

¹⁰ Information in a letter to the author from Mabel Glisan, Director, Confidential Collaborating Counsel, Chicago, Ill., September 16, 1955.

¹¹ "Ghost Never Tells," *Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, February 24, 1945, p. 5.

¹² Information in a letter to the author from J. P. Needleman, Director, Educational Research Association, New York City, July 21, 1955.

¹³ Information in a letter to the author from Michelson's Ghost-Writers Service, New York City; also "Ghost Writing Bureau," *Current History*, LII, May, 1941, p. 49.

(Continued on Page 30)

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HOW TO MAKE AN EFFECTIVE SPEECH

By Harold P. Zelko

Much in demand as a counselor on effective speech in industry and government, Mr. Zelko (Professor of Speech at Penn State) presented the following to the Penn State Air ROTC students. It may help you to avoid need for the ghostwriter whose activities are described in the four preceding articles of this issue.

IT IS LARGELY YOUR RELATIONS WITH OTHERS that determines your success in life. Franklin Roosevelt realized this and he spent a lifetime trying to improve his ability to speak. So did Winston Churchill, Lowell Thomas, President Ike Eisenhower and Milton Eisenhower. Speaking effectively did not come naturally to these men. It came after hard work and constant training. Milton Eisenhower, for example, was state speaking champion in Kansas and went on to be champion of the Missouri Valley. Ask him how much he values this achievement!

There is plenty of evidence that the ability to speak effectively is not born with us. *It is acquired through training.* Recent studies have proved this, including study of many American industries and executives who unanimously agree that this is an ability that is gained through practice and effort. And so, there is more speech and communications training going on in America today than most of us begin to realize. When you embark on any concentrated course of training in effective oral communication, such as you are doing now, you have lots of company.

Large industries such as General Electric Company, General Motors, and Standard Oil are conducting such training in their in-service training programs. So are the government agencies, and the armed forces. The Air Force has been a leader in emphasizing speech and communications training. I have had the pleasure of talking on this subject at the Air War College in Montgomery, Alabama, and the Air Force Manpower Development in Washington. Yes, the need for communicating clearly in all walks of life is very definitely recognized. That is why at Penn State, for example, we have over 1,000 students each

semester taking the basic course in Effective Speaking.

Speaking effectively is a skill. It is a skill that we all want to develop. Yet, oddly enough, it has been with each of us all our lives. We're all pretty good speakers right now, or we wouldn't be where we are. So, learning to speak more effectively is a matter of taking the equipment you now have, building on it, refining it, and adding a few basic principles. Then it is a matter of adopting a systematic approach to applying these principles, and PRACTICE. Like any other skill, practice is the primary requisite for improvement... practice... preparation... and HARD WORK! There is no magic formula to successful speaking!

PREPARATION IS THE KEY TO CONFIDENCE, a necessary feeling in reaching maximum effectiveness. Speaking is a rare combination of physical and mental processes. How we do it has a definite effect on other people. It is quite natural, then, that we should develop some feeling of concern about doing this well. And the result is some nervous anticipation. You should accept this as normal. All good speakers feel it. All good actors feel it. All good athletes feel it. What you want to do is realize that you can CONTROL this nervous tension and DIRECT it into the channels of enthusiasm and a sincere desire to do a good job. This means that you should *feel confident through being prepared*, and that you should *be enthusiastic through being sincere*.

What are the systematic steps in preparation for speaking? Let's take a look at them. To begin with, we recognize that oral communication is a combination of:

WHAT YOU SAY
HOW YOU SAY IT
&
... to WHAT LISTENER

The principles of good speaking, then, involve those principles dealing with *what you say*, or content; and those dealing with *how you say it*, or delivery...with constant consideration of the listener in the given case. To state this another way, your speech content and the way you get it across to the listener will determine your total effectiveness. This means that you should start your preparation by giving careful thought to the listener and what you want to accomplish in relation to him.

Now to turn to the five major steps in preparing a speech:

First you must PLAN,
next, ORGANIZE
third, DEVELOP
then, MOTIVATE
and last, COMMUNICATE

Let's look briefly at each of these.

PLANNING involves several things. You must consider the event or occasion, the audience, and the total objective or purpose of your remarks. This is true whether your responsibility is talking to a large audience in an auditorium, or making remarks in a conference or conversation. It involves your determining what you're going to talk about, what general purpose you have, and specifically what you want your listener to get from your remarks. Factors to consider are the type, nature, and level of the audience; the time available; and your own interest and knowledge of your subject. *Most speakers try to cover too much.* Write your purpose out in a sentence; make it terse and to the point; and then stick to it.

Too many speakers also make the mistake of failing to arrive at their *specific purpose* in speaking. You must do this... and you must keep this purpose in mind always as the driving reason why you are speaking, and as the specific thing you want to accomplish. There are two major *general purposes* when you communicate with others: You want to *inform* them, or make something clear. Your objective is to achieve *understanding*. Or you want to *persuade* them, get them to feel or believe or act in some direction. Your objective is to influence. In talking on a general subject such as the Air Force, it is quite different to have a purpose such as to discuss the "History of the Air

Force," or "How a Jet Motor Operates,"...which is to make clear...as compared to getting a group to believe that "The Air Force is the Best of Our Armed Forces," or "Join the Air Force," or "Jet Motors are Better than Conventional Motors".....which is to persuade. Remember to know where you're going, and whatever you put into your speech should be there to help drive this purpose home.

ORGANIZING is the next major step in preparing. This does not mean sitting down and writing your speech out. It means making an outline after you have carefully analyzed your purpose and determined what *main ideas* you want to get across in accomplishing this purpose. Your main ideas are the major points around which you will organize your thoughts. *Keep them few in number*, usually two or three. Then give thought to the best possible arrangement or sequence of your ideas. Some subjects require a TIME sequence of the main ideas, such as starting at a certain date and progressing chronologically from point to point. In another speech, you may want to use a SPACE sequence, starting at a particular point and moving through an area, such as the description of the layout of a factory. Again you might want to use a CAUSE to EFFECT, or a PROBLEM TO SOLUTION, or some other LOGICAL arrangement of the main ideas that best suits your subject and speech objective. In making your outline, remember that all speeches must have a beginning, a main development, and an ending. We call these major divisions the Introduction, Body, and Conclusion. All of these should be built with your listener in mind.

In the INTRODUCTION, you can never assume that your listener is interested in your topic. Actually his frame of mind might be one of indifference, a sort of "Who cares?" or "Ho-hum" attitude. You have got to make him realize that your subject and purpose are vital to him, that his interests are involved. This is a problem of motivation which I shall touch on later.

In the BODY, your first job is to determine the order or arrangement of your main ideas, again with listener interest and listener ability in mind. After you have determined this, put the main ideas down on a separate sheet of paper, leaving plenty of room under each for their development. Better still, in your initial step in making an outline, use a separate sheet of paper for each main idea.

In the CONCLUSION, again relate what you've

said to your audience, tell them what you want them to understand or to do, summarize your points, and tell them how they can apply it or how it can be of value to them in the future.

Now, let's assume you've done some thinking, some reading, and have gathered together the materials you may use in the speech. Which of these will be most effective in getting the idea across? This is a problem of DEVELOPMENT and it is the third phase of speech preparation. The question in the proof or expansion of an idea that you have to determine is whether you need to describe more fully, whether you need to explain, whether you need to define, or whether you need to support your idea in terms of proof in order to gain the most possible listener acceptance. To do this, the chief tools that are available to you are the example, the illustration, statistics, and testimony. The listener constantly is pleading with the speaker to be more specific, to be concrete, to get down to cases; and one of the reasons we use these so-called supporting tools or *forms of support* in developing ideas is to hold the listeners' attention. The EXAMPLE is the best means for accomplishing this.

Comparisons are also very useful. There are frequently detailed examples which tend to shed some light and which show the relative comparison of the speaker's point with the thing he is drawing from, such as explaining a complex mechanism like a jet engine. You compare it to the air coming out of a balloon. Blowing it up, letting the air come out, and watching the balloon go forward, you tell your audience, "This is the way the jet engine pushes the plane forward." The comparison is one of the most useful devices for making things clear — analogy and comparison.

STATISTICS bring ideas down to reality in terms of the actual figures. Use them in round numbers, use them attractively in terms of the listener. *Testimony* through the statement of an authority will help to make your proof valuable to your listener. And you will frequently want to repeat, to use *restatement* and repetition, to drive your point home.

Now, while you are doing all this, you are constantly concerned with the fourth step in speech preparation, or what we call MOTIVATION. This is always with us. It involves both what you say and how you say it. As we have already said in regard to your introduction, you need to motivate the listener to want to listen, so speech development is a constant process of

the application of the principles of listener interest, the listener's basic wants, to the points you are trying to make. You must keep in mind that everyone has certain *basic emotional wants*, which, the more he feels are satisfied, the more he will want to pay attention and the more he will be motivated. . . wants such as security and self-preservation and comfort and economy. And good speakers constantly appeal to these basic wants, are constantly tying their main ideas and points to these, so that they will be awakened in the minds of the listener. *Imagery* and the senses are also very definite doors to the mind and feelings of the audience. As we appeal to visual, auditory, and other senses through vivid description, we will accomplish motivation.

Another factor is LANGUAGE. And although there are many things that can be said here, the one thing to keep in mind is that listeners do not like to feel that a speaker is talking to them chiefly out of self-interest, and the use, or overuse, of the personal pronoun "I" will tend to do this. Use more frequently "we" and "you" to make the listener feel you are talking about him.

Now, we have got our PLANNING, our ORGANIZING, our DEVELOPING, and our thoughts with regard to MOTIVATION in mind and are actually ready to communicate the ideas to the listener. One of the first things we want to think of in terms of improving our ability to communicate is the question, "Just what kind of communicator do we want to be?"

Well, to begin with, effective speech communication is not oratory, it is not bombastic, it is not dramatics, it is not artificial. It is plain, natural, conversational speaking with something added, and we have a tendency today to call effective speaking ENLARGED CONVERSATION. Another label for it is EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEAKING. This means a well prepared speech from an outline. But the speaker takes into the group situation as much as he can his natural conversational manner of speaking. In doing this, one of the chief qualities is that he be sincere and that he create in the minds of his listeners, in the feelings of his listeners, an attitude that this speaker really has a message — "He feels it and therefore I feel it."

And this brings me to say just a word about the listener as part in the communicative process. So many times we think of effective communication as a one-way street — of me speaking to you and that's all, when actually, as a speaker talks

to a listener, he must be aware of listener reaction. The listener responds, he understands, he shows it in his facial expressions, in his eyes, in his manner. And as he does this, the speaker will in turn be motivated to speak perhaps a little faster, a little slower, to give an example, to use a little humor, to arouse more listener interest. And as the reaction goes from speaker to listener and listener back to the speaker, the communicative process becomes a circular process, not a one-way street, from speaker to listener. And the part that the listener plays in this is exceedingly important.

Lastly, in communicating, make use frequently of *transitions* from one point to another. Make it clear that you have left one point and are now starting on a new point. Do this, perhaps, by also including *internal summaries* in your talk. Summarize what you have said up to now. Make it clear that this is the next point. Start your next point and go on to it and then summarize again as you conclude.

Summing up, if a speaker is sincere, he will

have, usually, all the qualities we read about in terms of good effective vocal and physical manner of speaking. A sincere speaker will be direct and this is exceedingly important in talking to people. You can't influence the chairs or the table or the walls or the ceiling or the floor — the only things you can influence are the people in front of you, so look at them and catch them in the eye. Get their eyes to focus on you by your eyes catching theirs and moving your eyes around the room and catching the directness of everyone in the room at all times or as many times as you can throughout the course of any talk. Directness is exceedingly important.

So remember to adopt a systematic approach to effective speaking. Go through these five steps of **PLANNING, ORGANIZING, DEVELOPING, MOTIVATING, and COMMUNICATING.**

Remember that there is no short cut to this matter of making yourself more effective as a speaker. I wish you good luck in this objective.

Radio Drama Revisited

By David L. Woods

"De gustibus, non disputandum est," wrote Horace, 2,000 years ago. Who can tell what is good or what is bad in art? In the Sept. 1955 issue of TODAY'S SPEECH, Prof. Woods (Ohio State) indicated his opinion that radio drama has declined in quality in recent years; and in the Jan. 1955 issue Dr. Ray Irwin (Syracuse) replied that radio drama couldn't die — for it never had come to life. In this article, Mr. Woods returns to radio drama's defense.

In 1944 Professor Donald W. Riley of the Ohio State University wrote in his doctoral dissertation:

Radio drama, like other art forms suffered from growing pains in its early days: like most innovations in the art world, it was scoffed at by the skeptical.

During the ten years from 1935 to 1945 most of the "better" radio plays were produced. A number of these dramas have been anthologized, and a list of some of the better published collections follows this article. It is this body of anthologized literature, the usual radio text-books, and the available critical evaluations upon which I base my judgments. My own age and experience, unfortunately, have denied me much memory of these programs, let alone a memory "tinged with nostalgia." I grant that depending upon published

works may have drawbacks, yet it has always been the standard method for evaluation of older dramatic works. The appeal of any drama is greater, however, when seen or heard, than when read. I think this is even truer for radio, and may account for the presence of many of the weaker plays in anthologies. Naturally there are weaker plays in radio drama, as in all dramatic forms. Allowing weaknesses, nevertheless Norman S. Weisner wrote in his *Writer's Radio Theatre: 1940-1941*:

That there has been more progress in the field of radio drama than in any other phase of the theatre in a similar period of time is today an established fact.

Although granting the "artistic prominence" of Archibald MacLeish, Professor Irwin limits MacLeish's dramatic contributions a little too much.

Rather than a mere two plays (*The Fall of the City* and *Air Raid*), Mr. MacLeish's radio writing comes to a total of at least fifteen productions. *The American Story* contains ten of MacLeish's broadcasts written for the "University of the Air" series, including the well-known *Socorro*, *When Your Sons Forgot*. A verse play, *America Was Promised*, receives frequent text-book mention, but apparently has not been anthologized. Another of MacLeish's best-known radio plays, *The States Talking*, is found in the collection published by the Free Company. MacLeish also aided in the adaptation for the CBS Shakespearean series, personally handling the transfer of *King Lear* to radio.

Dr. Irwin has conceded prominence, but not quality, to Messrs Norman Corwin and Arch Oboler (as I did). Both Corwin and Oboler wrote prolifically, perhaps too prolifically, and both were published extensively, perhaps too extensively. Oboler is credited with over seven dramatic anthologies, and Corwin at least five. In the hopes of avoiding a prolonged debate upon "artistic quality," I simply turn to a recent play by Tennessee Williams, the first author on Professor Irwin's list of "preferred" writers. In Act I of *Cat On A Hot Tin Roof*, the following dialogue occurs as a husband and wife discuss the husband's father:

Brick: What makes you think that Big Daddy has a lech for you, Maggie?

Margaret: Why he drops his eyes down my body when I'm talkin' to him, drops his eyes to my bobs an' licks his old chops! Ha ha!

Brick: That kind of talk is disgusting.

Margaret: Did anyone ever tell you that you're an ass-achin' Puritan, Brick? I think it's mighty fine that that old fellow on the doorstep of death, still takes in my shape with what I think is deserved appreciation!

This may be "highly artistic" drama, but without wishing to appear too prudish, I am inclined to agree with Brick. The essential question, however, is not the quality or lack of quality of specific writers. The sole determinant of quality in a form cannot be mere evaluation of the weaker work of specific individuals engaged in the practice of that form. If it could be, I fear we have few quality forms, and even fewer arts.

Returning to fact, I concur only partially with Dr. Irwin in his statement that "there simply is not a fourth" prominent man who wrote original

radio drama after MacLeish, Oboler, and Corwin. As candidates for the fifth, sixth, and succeeding positions one could consider the merits of: Stephen Vincent Benet, Robert E. Sherwood, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Norman Rosten, Pearl S. Buck, Sherwood Anderson, Langston Hughes, Arthur Laurents, Clifford Odets, Gilbert Seldes, Carl Canner, Pare Lorentz, Allen Nevis, Garson Kanin, Alfred Kreymborg, Marc Connelly, Herman Wouk, Marc Blitzstein, Paul Osborn, James Boyd, Elmer Rice, Charles Jackson, Paul Green, Norman Panama, J. B. Priestley, Melvin Frank, Marquis James, Arthur Kober, Taylor Guthrie, Irwin Shaw, Graham Greene, Alexander Woolcott, Glenn Hughes, Dorothy Parker, Howard Koch, David Ross, William Saroyan, John Dickson Carr, Howard M. Teichmann, Ted Key, Hector Chevigny, Carl Sandburg, Jerome Lawrence, and Robert E. Lee.

It is true that most of these men and women have made their greatest reputation outside broadcast writing, yet only in the last few years have broadcast writers begun to obtain proper credit (via television). A glance at a few of the writers whose written reputation remained largely within the radio industry discloses: Morton Wishengard, Millard Lampell, Orson Welles, Fletcher Markle, Max Wylie, Arnold Pearl, Bernard C. Schoenfield, Lucille Fletcher, Erik Barnouw, Val Gielgud, Irving Reis, William Kendall Clarke, Milton Geiger, Joseph Liss, True Boardman, Elizabeth Lomax, Al Morgan, William N. Robson, Vick Knight, Allan Lomax, and Brewster Morgan. Both of these groups of authors were located merely by checking the common radio texts and anthologies.

As a single writer I suggest Stephen Vincent Benet. His published radio work consists of two volumes. *They Burned the Books*, a single anti-Nazi program translated and broadcast throughout the world, and *We Stand United*, a collection of eleven radio plays and two monologues by Benet, one play and two monologues by his wife, and a foreword written by Norman Rosten. Much of this book is propaganda, but it includes *A Child Is Born*, a new poetic version of the world's greatest story. Benet also adapted his own *John Brown's Body* to radio, as well as writing various single broadcast scripts (many for the "Cavalcade of America" series).

Of Professor Irwin's own selection of "prominent men" in the fields of playwriting, the novel, short story, and poetry, at least four have written

drama specifically for radio. Maxwell Anderson, following the lead of MacLeish, wrote a number of original radio plays, including: *Second Overture*, *The Bastion Saint Gervais*, *The Miracle of the Danube*, and *The Feast of the Ortolans*. Arthur Miller built much of his original reputation by his dramatic radio scripts, including many for the "Cavalcade of America." Budd Schulberg has attained greater reputation, perhaps, by his many radio, television, and screen plays, than through his novels. It is interesting to note that Schulberg is also the only literary figure cited by Irwin who has been able consistently to earn his living in the "more commercial" writing fields of television, cinema, and the popular magazine (assuming as Dr. Irwin evidently does, that plays and novels are more-or-less "non-commercial"). Another factor, almost too obvious to mention, is the point that a part-time poet or author (who may live, perhaps, by selling insurance) certainly has more time for "high artistic" expression, than the full-time writer meeting weekly and even daily deadlines.

Another highly significant omission in Professor Irwin's discussion is the area of non-original radio drama. Surely adaptation must be a recognized method of artistic dramatic endeavor (Jeffers' *Medea*, for example), and radio has proven a sounding board for almost all forms of dramatic literature, as well as offering dramatizations of most of the important novels, short stories, and poems suitable for broadcasting. Almost every one of Dr. Irwin's prominent novelists and playwrights (who were writing during 1935-45) have their work presented on radio. This is also true for a smaller number of his selection of poets and authors.

Returning to the dramatic area, a single program, NBC's "Great Plays" series, show a radio offering such dramatists as: Aristophanes, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Moliere, Congreve, Sheridan, Synge, Anderson, Euripides, Corneille, Calderon, Goldsmith, Hugo, Schiller, Boucicault, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Gilbert & Sullivan, Dumas fils, Rostand, Barrie, Maeterlinck, Galsworthy, Shaw, Sophocles, Jonson, Chekhov, Molnar, Belasco, Beaumarchais, Kaufman, Pirandello, Connelly, Goldoni, Gorki, Rice, as well as Noh drama, *Everyman*, and the *Commedia dell'arta*.

Other series, such as the CBS "Shakespearean Cycle," should be recalled. The poetic experiments on "Words Without Music," or the "America's Lost Plays" series (which renewed interest

in long-forgotten phases of American drama), provide stimulation. "The Columbia Workshop," "Lux Radio Theatre," "The Theatre Guild," and the "Chicago Theatre of the Air" are perhaps too well-known to mention, as might also be the case with the excellent dramatic presentations of the British Broadcasting Company (notably the "BBC World Theatre" series, which is still carried on many non-commercial and educational stations in this country). In regard to the effect of these productions, a mere mention of the much-discussed Orson Welles' *War of the Worlds* broadcast should illustrate the impact of dramatic radio in this earlier period.

Dr. Irwin closed with a quick look at television in general. Again I must agree that this certainly "is another story, outside the scope of my present undertaking." In fairness to television, and particularly television drama, I am forced to question whether *Peter Pan* and *The Skin of Our Teeth* stand as the only high points, and that the coming year's spectacles offer the major artistic hopes. (*Babes in Toyland*, perhaps?)

Simplicity seems to be the key to television success, as the Fred Waring Christmas show on a special "Comedy Hour" broadcast demonstrated so aptly. And if one can escape the influence of motion picture critics, it can be recalled that Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty* was a television drama. *Marty* is only a single example, but the TV dramatic screen has sent, and is sending, forth dramas which certainly on occasions equal, literarily and production-wise, the quality of most Broadway plays (if this is a goal). I fear the impact of the maze of awards descending upon *Marty* may force the television dramatic writer into the mold of the Hollywood supercolossal, but I hope to be proven wrong.

For an overall summary of radio drama's past status I defer to Archibald MacLeish. He made early pleas for poets to try radio, because "there no longer exists a theatre in New York in which a man interested in carrying modern poetry to the stage can be assured of a hearing." By 1944 MacLeish admitted his hopes were diminished, particularly those for a radio drama composed of words alone. Yet he credited truly dramatic radio with existence:

Because radio is limited mechanically to sound, and particularly to the sound of speech, radio is capable of concentrating upon the speech itself, the text itself, which can give words a life and a significance they

rarely achieve outside the printed page — and which they achieve there only for the most gifted and fortunate readers. It is, or should be, possible for radio, therefore, to present a given text loyally and literally and simply, and yet in such a perspective and with such a focus of attention as to give breath and presentness and meaning to its words.

I say this should be possible. I am not certain that it now is. The experimental work in the use of radio as a dramatic medium which centered around the Columbia Workshop in the thirties seems to have ended . . . Gifted writers and directors . . . Skilful devices have been employed to produce dramatic effects. But the earlier hope for a new stage on which the spoken word, freed of all external paraphernalia, should create by its own power and eloquence the emotions of which it alone is capable, has not yet been realized. If anything it is more remote today than it was ten years ago.

SELECTED RADIO DRAMATIC ANTHOLOGIES:

Barnouw, Erik (ed.). *Radio Drama in Action*. New York: Rinehart, 1945.

- Benet, Stephen V. *We Stand United and Other Radio Scripts*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945.
 Boyd, James (ed.). *The Free Company Presents*. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1941.
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 Fitelson, H. W. (ed.). *Theatre Guild On the Air*. New York: Rinehart, 1947.
 Lampell, Millard. *The Long Way Home*. New York: Messner, n. d.
 Lass, A. H., E. L. McGill, and Axelrod (eds.). *Plays From Radio*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1948.
 Liss, Joseph (ed.). *Radio's Best Plays*. New York: Greenberg, 1947.
 Weiser, Norman S. (ed.). *The Writer's Radio Theatre*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.
 Wishengrad, Morton. *The Eternal Light*. New York: Crown, 1947.

GHOSTWRITING AGENCIES

(Continued from Page 23)

- ¹⁴ Mabel Glisan.
¹⁵ "Ghost Never Tells," p. 5.
¹⁶ Mabel Glisan.
¹⁷ These price schedules, as the agencies all caution, are extremely tentative. They were compiled from information supplied by twenty firms, see note 4 above.
¹⁸ Stern, p. 12.
¹⁹ Michelson's Ghost-Writers Service.
²⁰ "Ghost Never Tells," p. 5.
²¹ Stern, p. 12.
²² *Ibid.*

"We do not advocate that every classroom teacher should add the burden of speech correction to his many other duties. We do, however, advocate that an awareness of the problems of the speech defective child and the acquisition of some basic skills for dealing with speech problems which are not complicated by psychogenic or organic factors would help in the understanding of the school age child and particularly in the understanding of the speech defective child."

—from the PREFACE OF

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TO BE PUBLISHED FALL, 1956

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 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

How To Make A Bad Speech

By Kurt Tucholsky

TRANSLATED BY HARRY ZOHN, Assistant Professor of German at Brandeis University, who writes as follows: "Kurt Tucholsky (1890-1935), The Berlin publicist and satirist, is virtually unknown in this country, although more than a million copies of his books have been sold in German-speaking countries. There has been a virtual Tucholsky renaissance in post-war Germany, something I was able to see at first hand during my recent visit to the writer's widow in Bavaria. Tucholsky wrote under several pseudonyms for the famous Berlin weekly *Die Weltbühne* where he was an associate of Siegfried Jacobsohn and Carl von Ossietzky. He was a superb stylist, a master of the German language comparable to Heinrich Heine (with whom he had a lot in common) and to Karl Kraus and Alfred Polgar. In an effort to make Tucholsky known in English-speaking countries, I have translated some 150 pages of his prose and am preparing a monograph on him."

NEVER BEGIN AT THE BEGINNING, but always three miles before it. Something like this:

"Ladies and Gentlemen! Before I come to my subject for tonight, let me speak briefly..."

Here you have just about everything that makes for a nice beginning: a formal salutation; the beginning before the beginning; the announcement that you intend to speak and what you intend to say; and the little word "briefly". That way you instantly win the hearts and the ears of your audience.

For this is what your listeners like: to be given your talk like a hard assignment in school, to be threatened with what you are going to say, are saying, and have said already. Always make things as complicated as you can.

Don't speak without notes — that disturbs people. The best thing is to read off your speech. That is safe and reliable; then, too, everybody is happy if the reading speaker looks up suspiciously after every half-sentence to make sure everyone is still there.

If you absolutely won't take this friendly advice and simply, positively, must speak without notes (you amateur! you silly Cicero!) why don't you follow the example of our professional speakers, the Reichstag delegates; have you ever heard one of *them* make an impromptu speech? Why, they probably write down their cries of "Hear! Hear!"

in advance, — anyway, if you *must* speak freely, then speak the way you write. And I know just how you write.

Speak in long, involved sentences — sentences of which you, who have prepared them at home, enjoying the leisure which you need so much and not paying any attention to the children, know the end very well, but the construction of which your listeners, impatiently daydreaming in their seats and feeling transported back to college classes in which they once liked to doze, find baffling — well, this is just a fair sample of how you've got to speak.

Always start with the old Romans, and no matter what you are talking about, supply the historical background. That is not merely the German way, but that of all bespectacled creatures. Once I listened to a Chinese student give a lecture at the Sorbonne; he spoke good, fluent French, but to everyone's joy he began like this: "Let me give you a very brief account of the history of my Chinese homeland since the year 2000 B.C." He looked up in surprise, because people were laughing so hard.

You, too, must do it that way. Right you are: Otherwise they won't know what you are talking about; who on earth can understand all that without the historical background. Of course! People didn't come to your lecture for a slice of life, but to hear what they can look up in books — quite right. Always give 'em history, give it to 'em.

Never worry about whether the current that runs from you into the audience comes back to you — that's a piddling detail. Speak without regard for the effect you have, for the people, for the air in the hall. Speak away, my good man. You'll get your reward in heaven.

You must put everything into secondary clauses. Never say: "Taxes are too high". That would be too simple. Say: "I'd like to add to what I've just said that taxes seem to be far too..." That's the way.

From time to time show people how to drink a glass of water. That is something they like to see.

If you should make a joke, be sure to laugh in advance, so that people will be prepared to recognize the punch line.

A speech is a monologue — how could it be otherwise? After all, only one person is talking. Even after fourteen years of speaking in public you couldn't be expected to know that a speech is not just a monologue but an orchestral composition; you see, a silent mass joins in all the time. And you've got to hear that. But no, you needn't.

Speak away, read away, keep thundering, keep historicizing.

To what I have just said about the technique of public speaking I should like to add briefly that a lot of statistics can't help but add class to a speech. It is most reassuring, and since everyone is quite capable of retaining ten different statistics without effort, it is quite a lot of fun.

Announce the finish of your speech well ahead of time, so your listeners won't burst a blood vessel out of sudden joy. (Paul Lindau once started one of those notorious wedding toasts with the words "And in conclusion. . .") Announce the conclusion, then start all over again and speak for another half hour. This can be repeated several times.

Don't just make an outline of your speech; let your audience in on it, too. That adds flavor.

Never speak for less than an hour-and-a-half;

otherwise it would hardly be worth bothering to start.

While one is speaking, the others have to listen. That is your golden opportunity. Misuse it!

How to Make a Good Speech

Main clauses. Main clauses. Main clauses.

A clear outline in your head; as little as possible on paper.

Facts, or an appeal to the emotions. A slingshot or a harp. A speaker shouldn't be an encyclopedia. People have one at home.

Listening to one voice is fatiguing; never speak for more than forty minutes. Don't strive for any effects that aren't part of your make-up. The speaker's platform is a merciless thing. A man is more naked on it than in a solarium.

Remember Otto Brahm's motto: "What's been cut can't be panned".

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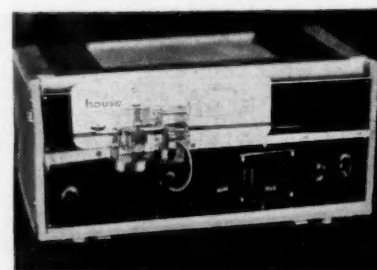
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LANGUAGE OF THE GOWN

BY Calvin T. Ryan

Professor Ryan (A.M., Washington College, Ed.M., Harvard) has been chairman of the Languages Division, State College, Kearney, Neb. since 1928.

Jim Matson was fired last night!

Now, isn't that the most!

FIFTY YEARS and a half a continent separate those two expressions. The first was made around 1900 in an English Shore college, to announce that Jim had accumulated enough demerits to get him expelled from college. The hypothetical reply might be made concerning a like academic disaster suffered by a student at the University Midwest in 1955.

But when students *flunk* in *Math*, or fail to hand in their *comps*, or *cut* their *Phys-ed*, and fail to work their *Trig*, one thinks of "academics." To one who has never worn the *gown* or attended the *acts*, such linguistic specialization is foreign speech. Even the many in the United States who know their college lingo may not know about *adjourns*, a term used in Bowdoin College a hundred years ago, meaning "The Prof. failed to show up." Any contemporary collegiate would understand "low I.Q.," or, perhaps, "an I.Q. 14," but he might not grasp all the nineteenth century student meant when he spoke of someone as being *dead*. It could be a verb, transitive or intransitive, or a noun, collective, abstract, or concrete. If one *flunked* in class, he *deaded* it.

The language of the college student has always been alive. Doubtless when the author of the famous Alice stories made Humpty Dumpty say that words meant whatever he wanted them to mean, being an Oxford don, he had in mind the students to whom he tried to teach mathematics. In Alice's time, no one knew about Non-Aristotelian logic, or Alfred Korzybski and his fellow semanticists; consequently, no harm could come from not having the map fit the territory.

The kind old gentleman who said, "Don't ask a man if he has been through college. Ask him whether college has been through him," would not have to ask the modern graduate just warm

from the glow of his being crowned *cum laude*. He could just listen to him speak. The marks of a recent graduate are linguistic. That does not mean he is a master of languages, either ancient or modern. It means simply that he can converse in the language most frequently used by the graduates of his alma mater.

So has it always been. At the middle of the last century a writer in the *Yale Literary Magazine* wrote: "With a mind and body so nearly at rest that naught interrupted my inmost repose save cloudy reminiscences of a morning *fizzle* and an afternoon *flunk*, my tranquility was sufficiently enviable." Doubtless the writer was playing the sedulous ape to some of his philosophy teachers.

Collegiate behavior of the last century must have something of the bibulous touch to it. Both in song and common language one finds many references to drinking and to liquor, even though the "snack bar" and "cocktail lounge" had not yet been discovered. At Dartmouth, for example, after the faculty had assigned the Greek, Latin, and Philosophical Orations to the best scholars, and the students had selected their Valedictorians from those remaining, these four honor students would treat their classmates to the best liquor they could buy. The event was called *Climbing*, for the liquor elevated the second and third raters to an equality with the canonized heroes. Such a custom must have broken down entirely all class distinctions and removed all necessity for comforting the feeble minded. It must have been a more enjoyable procedure than that offered the modern prototype of special classes for those with an "I.Q. 14."

The linguistic limitations of the special language used by college students is obvious whenever we try to use it off campus. It is too highly specialized, even localized. Every campus must have its own lexicographer.

This special use of language by college students sets them apart. They use all the contemporary slang, the language of the drunk and the sober. Like Saint Paul on Damascus Road, college students must have the right vocabulary by which to comfort the feeble-minded, and an equally correct one for apple-polishing the professor.

Nor does their versatility end there. They create a special language, one understood only in academic circles, and a super-special one, understood only on a given campus or yard. In one college a student with a "gift of gab" never allows his ignorance of the subject to interfere with his

discussing it; whereas in a neighboring college a student who is given to such *abracadabra* would be "mouthing it," or "skinning it." In Podunk College, that student would be a "tick" or a "screw." At Old Siwash, he would be a "dead." One college might boast of its Moonlight Rangers, the original collegiate Ku Klux Klan, but with less malicious purport; while another might have the Annarugians, copied, perhaps, from the original biblical account of the man who went to the wedding feast without admissible apparel.

An obvious danger of such linguistic freedom is its interference with acquiring the normal vocabulary of literate speakers and writers. The student's word horde becomes circumscribed in its normal functioning, like a human body overloaded with toxins. The first complaint registered by both the Army and the Navy against college men in the recent war was their inadequate vocabulary.

Conceivably college students get a certain satisfaction from having their own "unknown tongue." Conceivably they get satisfaction in scorning the conventional vocabulary. On the other hand, they can easily dispense with this satisfaction, for they are equally able to learn that of any other closely associated group. They readily become the "big butter and eggs men," and speak their lingo like oldtimers. They may become college professors of English and show their scorn for the language of the campus. Some have been known to rise in political circles to the heights of "egg-heads."

If a person does not speak the language of his associates, whether it be the lingo of our Western cowboys, the impeccable English of a Harvard professor, the patois of a Wyoming sheepherder, the unadjectived language of a sailor, or the piety of a priest, he is put down as a *dead one*, by those who are accustomed to their tribal language. That person is ostracized. He is a white crow and all the regular crows will "gang up" on him. General MacArthur might have some difficulty in understanding the Al Capones. Daddy Dakotan is puzzled by his daughter who has been to college for a year and announces her weight "stripped for gym." The Dillingers, however, could talk with the Capones, the MacArthurs with the Pattons, the Misses Dakotan with their sorority sisters.

The "jail bird" derives satisfaction from scorning the conversational language of his free brothers, and earns a certain respect from his comrades by his ability to speak in unknown tongues. Psychol-

ogists study those prison languages and learn much about their users. The language a person uses seems to be a fair index of his inner life.

The creativity of the college student seems somewhat limited. He usually inherits the slang and special language of his campus, and hands some of it down unspoiled to the next generation. A certain college professor was known to his students for a full half century as "Spring-Tail," from the coat he wore at one time. Long after the coat had been discarded, the name clung to the faithful teacher. In a small eastern college, the toilets were in the basement of the dormitories for men, and a missing student at inspection time would be automatically reported as "Down in Egypt." The privies of a New Jersey College were spoken of as "Back Campus." Such euphemistic geosocial language is not understandable except for the students and the faculty members of the campus where the term is used. But those terms cling, even after *academics* have become *gowns*, and *acts* have become *commencements*; yes, even after *chambermates* have turned into *roommates*, and *fishers* have become *apple-polishers*.

Collegiate lingo is so particularized that it seldom goes over into common speech. Shakespeare can have one of his characters complain that something "Isn't so hot," and we accept it for three hundred years as *modern slang*. The lingo of the plainsman and patois of the sailor come into our language. The underworld can speak of "twenty grand," and all Americans understand its meaning. But primarily for the reasons mentioned, college cant-words and phrases seldom become universalized. They remain the language of the gown, seldom popular in the town.

Nonetheless, the language of the campus has its place, however limited. It may be an unknown tongue to the uninitiated, but it is part of the academic life. Those who spend their lives listening to it seem never to tire of hearing it. It is their world, and they ignore whatever tyranny of words may trouble the town. Neither Rudolph Flesch nor the semanticists have made so much headway on the campus as they have in the classroom. Perhaps that is why the newest thing in linguistic education is Communication. Despite the styles and the names, there will always be English — English as she is spoke on the campus.

It may not mean much to the lexicographer, but to those who use it, it carries the most warmly gratifying meaning of all—"We belong! We are members of the group."

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